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THE COMMUNIST

. X AUGUST, 1931 No. 8

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THE COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1890. 33

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A New Bid for World Domination

By ALEX BITTELMAN

HOOVER'S move for a one-year war debt moratorium constitutes a fresh bid by American capitalism for world domination. It brings more burdens to the toiling masses of Germany, with the prospect of the active participation of world imperialism in the effort to crush the rising workers' revolution. It has already produced a more intensified struggle between the imperialist powers. It has heightened the danger of war and especially the menace of military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The capitalist press of the United States is especially not very outspoken on questions of "big" imperialist policy of the American government. Nevertheless, it could not conceal its satisfaction and pride with the example of "moral leadership" set by Hoover's war debt proposals. The Democratic press recalled even the "Wilson Era" when American imperialism entered for the first time as a full-fledged contender for world hegemony.

Richard V. Oulahan, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, raises slightly the curtain which obscures the doings of the Hoover imperialists. He writes:

> "If the rather general view of Washington observers of public affairs is to be accepted . . . the President's course, no matter whether there is a miss in its aim to turn the tide of depression from ebb to flow, is certain to bring results that cannot fail to be recorded as historic."

And what may these results be?

> "Already there has been an upsetting of notions as to the future policy of the United States with respect to the world at large and the disposition among the class of observers mentioned is to see Washington *less an isolated figure and more a gregarious personality which rubs elbows willingly and not perforce with the rest of the inhabited globe.*" (Our emphasis.)

The same interpretation, according to Oulahan, is placed upon Hoover's move by the European capitalist powers. He says:

> "From all over Europe there is reflection of an impression that a new era of American participation in international affairs is about

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> to begin." . . . "For the present, at least, Mr. Hoover must be regarded as a world leader."

It is not true, of course, that up until Hoover's move for a moratorium American imperialism was only a bystander in the struggle between the imperialists, as Mr. Oulahan would seem to suggest. Since the "Wilson Era," ushered in by United States participation in the war of 1914-1918, American imperialism has carried on the most aggressive struggle for world domination. Only this struggle has not always been conducted by the American government *in the open political arena.* The tactic of Republican administration since the defeat of Wilson has been to press the imperialist claims of the capitalist class of the United States, especially in Europe, primarily with so-called *economic* weapons and only secondarily by political means. The present move of Hoover for a war debt moratorium, and the activities of Mellon and Stimson in Europe, make the American capitalist class face the political struggles of the European capitalist powers *more fully* than heretofore. Hoover's move brings the American government into closer and *more direct* participation in the political rivalries of the European capitalist powers.

What is the result? A sharpening of the imperialist rivalries all around. This is so obvious that it hardly needs elaboration. To begin with, the American government comes into head-on collision with the French government. It couldn't result in anything else for the Hoover proposals constitute a blow, in the first instance, at French financial hegemony in Europe. This fight between U. S. and French imperialism is just beginning. All that the two governments have agreed to thus far is the statement that they are both "inspired by high and lofty sentiments for the good of the world." The basic and contentious issue thrust forward by Hoover's move, namely, to break French hegemony in Europe, is just beginning to unfold itself. Stimson's visit to Mussolini, in the face of the sharp imperialist rivalries between France and Italy, cannot be understood as anything else but another move of Hoover against France.

Essentially, however, Hoover's war debt proposals are a blow at British imperialism. The latter, through its loyal servant, the British "Labor" government, was itself fighting to check the "excesses" of French hegemony in Europe by a policy of maneuvering between France and the European capitalist powers that are opposed to France. British imperialism was assiduously cultivating the "friendship" of Germany and Italy for the purpose of, on the one hand, forestalling the crystallization of an alliance of those capitalist powers that stand out for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, and, on the other hand, to build up a force strong enough to check French

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imperialist ambitions in Europe. Hoover's war debt moratorium, which is followed up by Stimson's visit, undertakes to push British imperialism aside, aiming to place *American* imperialism in the position of leadership against French hegemony in Europe.

British imperialism has accepted the challenge. The "Labor" government was the first to agree to the war debt proposals of Hoover because the financial contents of these proposals did not greatly affect British imperialism one way or the other. It is the *political* meaning of Hoover's proposals—the bid for leadership in Europe—that contained the challenge to Britain. And this she answered by a unanimous declaration of all three capitalist parties in England —Conservative, Liberal and "Labor"—that she is going to fight. The speeches of Ramsay MacDonald, Baldwin and Lloyd George, delivered from the same platform at the "disarmament" rally in London, July 11, 1931, contained the answer. It was sounded by the "socialist" servant of British imperialism in these words:

> "Here we are a united nation. None is for party but all is for the State. . . . Let this country take the lead in the cause of peace throughout the world."

In selecting the "disarmament" issue as a weapon with which to meet the fresh challenge of American imperialism for world domination, British imperialism is aiming a blow at the naval supremacy policies of its American opponent, at the same time trying to rally Germany and Italy to weaken the military and naval forces of France. The issue of disarmament is once again thrown into the pot of imperialist rivalries as a weapon to weaken the armaments of the "opponent," and as a screen for the actual increase of imperialist armaments and war preparations.

Hoover's proposals, made in the name of peace and stabilization, have already intensified all imperialist contradictions.

TRYING TO SAVE GERMAN CAPITALISM FOR MILITARY INTERVENTION

The immediate cause of Hoover's move at this time is the panic of the capitalist world in the face of the growing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in Germany. It was this panic that compelled Hoover to come out with the war debt moratorium in an effort to stave off the workers' revolution in Germany and to save German capitalism—one of the weakest links in the world capitalist system—in order *to save American capitalism.*

It was not mere "charity" that inspired Hoover's move. It was the fear to lose the *three billion* dollars invested in Germany by American imperialism. It was the fear of the ripening workers'

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revolution in Germany and the effect that this is having in strengthening the revolutionary working class movement in the United States. It was the fear of the growing socialism in the Soviet Union, in the midst of deepening crisis in the capitalist world, and the need of saving German capitalism for military intervention under the leadership of American capitalism.

On June 23rd the *New York Times* editorialized as follows:

> "If the adverse conditions (in Germany—A. B.) had continued till next December, with the popular discontent and resentment growing more intense all the time, no one can tell what might have happened. The only certain thing is that the Hitlerites and the Communists would have become strong enough to threaten the stability of the German government."

And H. R. Knickerbocker, Berlin correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* and chief conjurer of the "red trade menace," wrote on June 24th:

> "A member of the board of directors of one of the largest German banks, upon being asked his opinion of the effect of President Hoover's action, exclaimed: '. . . it constitutes, one may say, the first really important move toward the solidarity of the members of the system in which we believe as against the system in which Moscow believes. It is the greatest blow to Communist hopes for the world revolution that has as yet been struck.' "

The XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, held in April, clearly foresaw the sharpening of the crisis, the growth of the revolutionary upsurge all over the world, and the growth of the prerequisites of a *revolutionary crisis* in a number of countries, among them Germany. The Plenum resolution said:

> "The growth of the revolutionary upsurge in those capitalist countries where the economic crisis, coinciding with the special conditions of the general post-war crisis of capitalism, was rendered particularly acute—for example, in Germany, which is crushed by the burden of the Versailles system and the Young Plan and is deprived of the opportunity to exploit colonies. . . . —leads to the *maturing of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis.*"

The deepening of the economic crisis since the Plenum, in Germany—and the world over—has led to "an extreme intensification of the class struggle and to growing political conflicts which accelerate the ripening of prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis" in Germany. The Bruening government, supported by the Social-Democratic Party, is trying to realize the capitalist solution of the crisis by the most far-reaching attacks upon the standard of living

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of the impoverished and hungry working class and toiling masses of Germany. The latest Emergency Decree of the Bruening government aims to meet the billion mark deficit of the government by condemning to a death of starvation the four million unemployed and their families, by cutting the wages of government employees about 300 million marks, and by placing on the shoulders of the working class a crushing burden of new direct and indirect taxes. Some 86 per cent of the total new taxes provided by the Emergency Decree, or 882,360,000 marks, are to be squeezed out of the workers.

The issuance of this hunger decree has deepened the crisis still further and has aroused the deep resentment of the masses. The workers held protests and demonstrations all over Germany, and in many places sharp collisions with the police and open street fighting took place. On June 11 a protest meeting in Berlin called by the Communist Party was attended by 20,000 workers. Armed police, under the direction of the "socialist" chief of police, Grzesinski, were all prepared for civil war. The Communist Reichstag deputy and Party leader, Ernst Thaelmann, was arrested on his way to the meeting (despite the parliamentary immunity guaranteed by the constitution to members of the Reichstag.) The revolutionary struggle of the masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, against the hunger decree and against the Bruening government, which is carrying out the fascist dictatorship of the German bourgeoisie with the help of the Socialist Party, has been growing sharper day by day.

World capitalism was beginning to get panicky over the deepening crisis and the approaching workers' revolution in Germany. This was shown especially in the precipitate flight of foreign capital from Germany, particularly American and French. This has placed capitalist Germany on the verge of bankruptcy. It was at this point that Hoover came forward with his proposals. These were heralded throughout the world as the "salvation" of Germany, the opening of a "new era of international peace," the "end" of the crisis, and the beginning of prosperity. Bankers and speculators were meanwhile cashing in on this new wave of capitalist optimism. This lasted only a few days. Instead of a new era of peace, the Hoover proposals have opened up a new phase of *more intensified* imperialist rivalries. Instead of salvation for Germany and relief from the crushing burdens of the Versailles Treaty and the Young Plan, we see now in the making—at the meeting of the Bank for International Settlements in Basle and in the cabinets of the imperialist governments—a fresh imperialist

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conspiracy to utilize the bankruptcy of capitalist Germany in order to *fasten the shackles of the Versailles Treaty and of the Young Plan more securely* upon the toiling masses of Germany. Instead of the end of the world economic crisis, comes a deepening of the crisis and more desperate efforts of American capitalism to lead imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union as a capitalist way out of the crisis.

Hoover's proposals have served to encourage and strengthen all the reactionary, anti-Soviet and anti-labor forces in the United States. The imperialist demand for an embargo upon Soviet goods is growing. Senator Copeland, Democrat from New York, calls for "an absolute embargo against the entrance of all Russian products into this country."

With his plan for a moratorium Hoover is again attempting to achieve what he has failed apparently to accomplish at the May convention of the International Chamber of Commerce, namely, an economic capitalist world alliance against the Soviet Union. A dispatch from Washington, July 7, reports a decision of the Executive Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce meeting in Paris that "a committee of ten be appointed to consider documentary information bearing on the present Russian situation." This rather obscure decision is deciphered by the *New York Times* correspondent as follows:

> "The recommendation regarding a study of documentary information concerning Russia not only was unexpected, but into it was read considerably more significance than appeared in the brief wording. It was unofficially interpreted here as marking possibly *the first step in a new capitalist business union to fight Soviet dumping of products.* (Our emphasis.)

The economic war of the imperialists is nothing else but *a preliminary* to armed intervention. Hoover's war debt moratorium, being a bid for world domination by American imperialism, is a bid for leadership in the preparations for military intervention in the Soviet Union.

ONLY THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION OFFERS SOLUTION OF CRISIS

At this writing the chief imperialist powers are still bargaining as to which of them shall have the main share of the exploitation of the German masses through the Versailles system. While this bargaining is going on, the crisis is becoming sharper. The flight of native and foreign capital continues. Big banking firms are going into bankruptcy (the Darmstaedter and National Bank). The German government is in panic. It issues appeals to the people "not

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to lose their heads." To prevent runs on the banks, which can no longer meet the full demands of the depositors, and further bankruptcies, the government ordered the closing down of the banks for two days.

The masses in Germany that are following social-democracy are beginning to wake up to the treacherous character of this mainstay of capitalist rule. Social-democratic workers are breaking with their party and are joining the Communist Party. Even the backward masses are beginning to see the correctness of the program of the German Communist Party, the program of a People's Revolution for National and Social Liberation, as the only way out of the miseries of capitalism and imperialism.

See the report of the *United Press* correspondent in Berlin, on July 13. He says: "The excited depositors, almost without exception, were discussing the chances of a Communist uprising." In front of the Darmstaedter bank branch at Nollendorf Square, this correspondent had listened to remarks like these:

> "After the war they told us all German factory chimneys would cease smoking if Communism were established. Well, there's no Communism yet, and no smoke from the chimneys."

And who was it that had promised the German masses "smoke from the factory chimneys" as an alternative to Communism? It was the German Social-Democratic Party, the brothers-in-arms of our "own" American Socialist Party, that had promised the masses salvation under capitalism. It was this party of treason that has systematically deceived the masses about the Soviet Union, about the "impossibility" of building socialism in the Soviet Union, in order to keep the masses away from the revolutionary struggle against capitalism under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The success of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the deepening crisis in Germany are further shattering the Social-Democratic fakers, exposing their treachery to the masses. The *United Press* correspondent reports another remark overheard at the closed bank:

> "These Russians at least have hope, even if impoverished, while we are without money, food or hope."

The German government and the Social-Democratic Party are representing the Hoover plan as something that will solve the crisis and improve the condition of the masses. In fact, Hoover himself presented his plan in this way, that it was intended to help Germany, to help the world and to help the United States. We have already shown that the *first* consequence of the Hoover plan was

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to sharpen the imperialist rivalries, deepen the crisis and bring capitalist Germany to the position of virtual bankruptcy. *If the present very tense international situation, precipitated by the Hoover proposals, does not result in the outbreak of actual war, it can result only in such a compromise between the chief imperialist powers as will spell more oppression and slavery for the toiling masses of Germany, more oppression for the toiling masses in all capitalist and colonial countries, and greater danger of military intervention in the Soviet Union.*

If the imperialists of the United States, France and England find it necessary to postpone the decisive fight for hegemony in Europe, choosing for the present the alternative of some sort of a temporary compromise, they will do it by imposing *more burdens* on the German masses, by demanding further wage cuts and more taxes upon the workers, by urging more open fascist oppression and persecution of the working class and revolutionary movement in Germany. If all the chief imperialist powers, or some of them, decide to come across with more loans to capitalist Germany, they will undertake especially to guard themselves *against the growth of the workers' revolution in Germany*. The present panic of the capitalist class, in the face of the maturing proletarian revolution in Germany, will result in a fresh effort by the chief imperialist powers *to crush the revolutionary movement and the Communist Party and to speed up the preparations for military intervention in the Soviet Union.* The imperialists are already contemplating *armed support* to the German bourgeoisie and social-democracy to fight the workers' revolution.

Meanwhile the German capitalists and their servant, German social-democracy, are trying to save themselves from the rising masses by deceiving them with the "possibilities" of the Hoover plan. They are trying to do it in the same way in which they deceived the masses with the Dawes Plan in 1924, and with the Young Plan in 1929. But reference to these previous efforts "to save" German capitalism only proves the correctness of the Communist point of view. The Dawes and Young Plans had imposed heavier burdens upon the toiling masses of Germany, strengthening the chains of the Versailles system, without preventing the coming of the crisis and the development of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in Germany.

The Dawes Plan in 1924, and the American and European capital investments in Germany that followed the adoption of the plan, aimed to "save" Germany from Bolshevism. German and international social-democracy became the main champions of the Dawes Plan? What was the result? A strengthening of the chains of

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the Versailles system and a worsening of the conditions of the toiling masses in Germany. German capitalism achieved a relative and temporary stabilization which, however, began to break up within a period of 4 years. German capitalism had to be saved again, and the Young Plan came to do it. Social-democracy once more began to paint pictures of "hope" and "promise" for the German masses under the Young Plan. What happened in reality? The Young Plan did not stop the coming of the economic crisis whose deepening has resulted in unemployment, wage cuts, hunger, fascist persecution, and the Bruening Emergency Decree for the German working class and the toiling masses generally. The prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in Germany are growing despite all the plans of Dawes, Young, and the others.

The Hoover plan comes at a time which is very much different from the time of the previous "plans." The general crisis of world capitalism is in a phase of deeper decomposition and rottening of the capitalist system. In the words of the XI Plenum: "Capitalist stabilization is coming to an end. In the U.S.S.R., the laying of the foundation of socialist economy is being completed." The deepening economic crisis and the growth of the revolutionary upsurge are further undermining the capitalist system. American capitalism, author of all these "plans" and the "saviour" of Germany, *is itself in one of the deepest economic crisis in its history.* The Hoover plan, therefore, cannot stop the growth of the workers' revolution in Germany. On the contrary, by attempting to impose fresh burdens upon the German masses, it will only accelerate the growth of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis.

The Socialist Party of America, true to its role of servant of imperialism, is working hand in glove with Hoover to put across his plan and to combat the workers' revolution in Germany. Norman Thomas, speaking before an audience of ministers at Union Theological Seminary, expressed himself as follows:

> "I think that Hoover's debt plan is one of the very few intelligent forward things he has done. The collapse of Germany under the Hitlerites or Communists threatens the collapse of all Europe, or even all of Western civilization."

The leader and spokesman of the Socialist Party is calling upon the United States to save German capitalism from collapse and to combat the workers' revolution in Germany led by the Communists in order to save American and world capitalism. Morris Hillquit, another leader and spokesman of the Socialist Party of America, the champion fighter for the seizure of Soviet oil for the imperial-

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ists, is now taking part in the Congress of the Second International in Vienna which is organizing intervention in the Soviet Union.

The *New Leader* of July 11, following the line of Thomas and Hillquit, calls for the mobilization of the Socialist Party to save capitalism from the "chaos" that is threatened by the workers' revolution. Says the *New Leader*:

> "If there is a collapse in Germany chaos will follow and the United States will be involved as well as other nations. Therefore, to do our utmost . . . to prepare for any world emergency that may impose tremendous responsibilities upon us is a solemn duty facing socialists."

Prepare to save capitalism—that is the message of the American Socialist Party. At the same time the "left" fakers—Muste and Company—together with the Lovestone and Cannon renegades, are intensifying their fight against the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League, thus doing their "share" for the Hoover plan.

The Hoover plan is a plan of more oppression for the masses, sharper imperialist rivalries and war, accelerated preparations of military intervention against the Soviet Union.

Down with the Hoover plan. Down with the Versailles system of slavery and with the Young Plan. Down with the Socialist supporters of the Hoover plan and their renegade assistants. Hail the revolutionary solution of the crisis under the leadership of the Communist International. Hail and support the growing workers' revolution in Germany. Defend the Soviet Union.

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Putting the XI Plenum Decisions Into Life

By EARL BROWDER

> "The *principal* task that now confronts all the Communist Parties is to win the majority of the working class as an essential condition for victory over the bourgeoisie and for preparing the working class for the decisive battles *for the dictatorship of the proletariat.* The successful fulfillment of this principal task is closely linked up with the consolidation of the independent revolutionary trade union movement, with the transformation, in the process of mass proletarian movements, of the revolutionary trade union oppositions and of the independent revolutionary trade unions, into genuinely mass organizations capable in deed of preparing for leading the economic battles of the proletariat, and of becoming the principal transmission belts between the Communist Parties and the broad masses of the workers." (*Theses, XI Plenum E.C.C.I.*)

SINCE the XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in April, our Party has been engaged in concretely applying the directives contained in the above quotation from the Plenum decisions. Now approaching the 13th Central Committee Plenum of our Party in August, it is necessary to engage in the most searching self-criticism. We must examine our practice, to see how nearly it measures up to our excellent resolutions (which are excellent because they follow the line of the Communist International). Resolutions which have remained on paper are worthless; it is our practice that counts.

What has been our practice?

The best examples of both our progress and our weaknesses are to be found in the great miners' strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, and in the condition generally of our National Miners' Union.

Eight months ago, this Union had declined to a mere shadow, due to the effects of bad methods of work. The Illinois strike of December, 1929, had been miserably botched, and had revealed incompetent, weak, and politically degenerate elements in many positions of leadership, while the presence of such elements had showed impermissable laxity of the Party toward the trade union problems and practice. A period of drastic purging was required, complicated by the treacherous activities of the Trotskyist renegades in alliance with the Lovestoneites and Musteites. This period

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should have ended with the Convention of the Miners' Union a year ago, and the new period of growth should have begun at that time.

But we still found fatal weaknesses in our practice. At the Miners' Convention there occurred unprecedentedly bureaucratic distortions of the correct revolutionary line. This was typified by the method used in making a change in the name of the Union. The miners were all for the old name, National Miners' Union; the Party had never made any decisions instructing its members to try to change the name. And yet, one comrade holding a strategic position proceeded, upon his personal whim and by use of personal prestige to propose and have adopted without discussion the change of name to Mine, Oil, and Smelter Workers Union (without even a discussion with the Communist fraction!). Such a thing was possible only in a period of very low activity, of passivity, in the Union. But that it could happen at all is an indictment against the whole practice of carelessness and inattention that characterized our trade union work then. It was an extreme example of bureaucratism, of high-handed going over the heads of the workers—and even of the Party.

Further demoralization was thrown into the work of the Union at this Convention by another irresponsible action, the postponement of the election of the official leadership, and the installing of a "provisional" committee instead. This again was an individual action, without consultation with miners or with the Party. But again, it was passed by without any calling to account. Another example of the Party's tolerant attitude at that time to impermissible practices!

Both of these blows against the Union's stability were overcome—but after the Convention, and with the loss of many precious months of time and an untold waste of energy.

The greatest proof that we have really progressed, that we have left behind forever those old intolerable methods of work, is this—*that it is now impossible for such abuses in the practical work to be tolerated for a single moment.*

Now the National Miners' Union is leading masses in heroic struggle. It is organizing the miners. These achievements have been possible because we have seriously begun to apply the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and the XI Plenum of the E.C.C.I.!

We have begun to consolidate the revolutionary unions. We have begun to transform them, in the process of mass struggles, into truly mass organizations.

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This is a great step forward. But it is still only the first step. We still have to prove in life that we can hold what we have gained in the struggle up to this time. We still must prove our ability to make the first struggles the means of organization and preparation for greater struggles, on a higher and broader scale.

We still have to learn the full meaning of our task, which is to build the revolutionary unions and the Party through struggle and in the midst of struggle.

THE UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW

> "The uneven development of the crisis and of the revolutionary upsurge demands from each Communist Party, in preparing for mass actions, the *concrete* applications of such forms of the *united front from below* as will create opportunities for drawing into the struggles the broad masses of workingmen and working women, the unemployed, the workingclass youth, office employes and other semi-proletarian strata." (*XI Plenum Thesis*).

In finding the concrete methods and forms of the united front from below, the miners' strike shows that we are making great advances. We have been able to build from below a system of strike committees, elected by the masses at the mines, which has solidly stabilized the leadership of the strike and created the opportunities for drawing the masses actively into the struggle.

This united front from below is a great contrast to the "united front" which we had in 1927-1928 in the great miners' struggle of those years. This contrast is a measure of how far we have marched forward. In the "united front" of the years of the "Save the Union" movement, the unity at the bottom was made dependent upon our *alliance at the top* with such unreliable elements as Brophy, Hapgood, Howatt, et al. These "allies" who formed the basis of our "united front" had the absolute power of veto (and used it freely) over all our proposals of action in the struggle against the alliance of coal capitalists, the government, and the John L. Lewis bureaucracy. The result was that the movement became, not a fighting united front of the miners, but a paralyzing bondage to the "progressive" leaders who refused to fight. When we were finally forced, after long hesitation, to break this paralysis by the launching of the National Miners Union, our most damaging enemies were precisely these "allies" whom we had been building up for years, providing them with the weapons with which they then turned against us.

Our present united front has no trace of this old reliance upon treacherous "progressives"; it is built in struggle *against* them and against all those whom they serve.

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These "progressives" of the Brophy, Howatt, Keeney type, who sometimes mouth "left" phrases in order more effectively to deceive the workers, are the most dangerous enemies. Formerly we allied ourselves to them; now our relations are of struggle. If we manoeuvre with them when they have masses of workers whom they have deceived, it is for the one purpose to win the masses away from them and expose and destroy them. Of course the renegades will never understand this difference; both the Lovestoneites and Cannonites, who wail for the return of the "good old united front" with the "progressives," unite in labelling the real united front from below of the workers as "sectarianism."

The principal weakness in our practice in the miners' strike of the united front from below, lies in our insufficient utilization of the opportunities which it creates for drawing the masses into activity.

This is first of all expressed in a lack of systematic building up of cadres of leaders from the miners themselves. There is too much reliance upon the importation of organizing forces from outside the strike area.

In the second place, it is shown by insufficient attention to the organizational phases of building the National Miners Union within the mass strike committees, and the extremely slow tempo with which we have taken up the building of the Party.

> "What is our Party suffering from? (1) It does not lead in economic struggles. It does not follow the plans given it by the Enlarged Presidium, and because of this does not make full use of the economic crisis. (2) It conducts economic struggles poorly. (3) If in some places it conducts them well, it does not strengthen organizationally its successful achievements. (4) It does not know how to carry on its daily organizational work and loses all that has been accomplished previously." (*Comrade Manuilsky, Sept.* 18, 1930, in American Commission).

These words of Comrade Manuilsky are still valid, although spoken a year ago. We are leading in economic struggles—but only in some industries and districts. And in no case are we giving sufficient attention to bringing out of them solid organizational achievements. We do not yet understand concretely what organizational work means.

Basic for all organizational work, for example, is the drawing out and development of new leading cadres from the masses engaged in struggle. Without new leading cadres developed in the fight itself, it is impossible to build permanent organizations, and even impossible to properly conduct the immediate fight. But we constantly tend to neglect this basic task; instead, we use "emergency

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measures" to meet all organizational problems, we rush in "outside forces" not to supplement, help, and guide the workers in struggle, but to substitute for them in all organizational work. It is true we have numberless good resolutions to the contrary—but these resolutions are not taken as our guide for concrete action. They remain as more or less window-dressing. Our "normal" condition becomes the condition of emergency.

This must be drastically changed. We must make a sharp turn in this practice. Out of every battle, of every strike, we must draw forth new leaders, must train them, must build them into organized cadres. From the miners' strike, for example, we must systematically build up a corps of 250 to 300 trained miner-organizers, right out of the pits. If we do this, we will build the Union; if we fail to do this, all our "emergency measures" will count for nothing when the strike is over. We will have nothing left but some more or less vague good will and memories of a good fight—but no organization. Building new cadres of leaders is a basic task of organization.

Our united front rank and file strike committees, built up from below without distinction to whether the workers are members of our union, are unorganized, or are members of a reactionary union —this united front from below is basic, is absolutely necessary. It is the foundation for all else.

But the foundation is not the complete structure. On this foundation we must build the Union itself. The foundation, the united front committees, cannot take the place of the Union. And we must admit that in this respect we are still guilty of great slowness and neglect. We tend too much to leave the Union to build itself automatically.

We must learn, once and for all, that nothing of a constructive nature happens "automatically." Anything which we set as the goal of our endeavor, will only come about by our efforts, planned and systematic efforts, followed up from day to day and month to month. Local unions must be built, definite union membership and responsibility must be established, recognized leadership of an organized, permanent sort, must be set up, a financial system must be established. This requires daily work with thousands of details, which must be foreseen, planned and followed up. In the miners' strike we have made a beginning in this—but a little late, at a slow tempo, and without sufficient planfullness and energy and follow-up. In other strikes, such as Lawrence, it was terribly neglected. We must develop throughout the movement an attitude of sharpest criticism towards all such neglect and slowness.

And finally, in the building of the Party in the midst of strike

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struggles, we must say that we still have a scandalous situation. We even have theories to justify the failure to build the Party. The Party has been forced to recognize and stigmatize at least five distinct varieties of such theory, and begin a campaign against them. There are: (1) that the Party can be built only after the strike, and even then only when the workers win all their demands; (2) that during the strike, the Party members participating therein cannot and must not take up simultaneously he task of building the Party; (3) that during a strike, leading Party members are exempted from working within the Party structure; (4) that during a strike all Party meetings should be cancelled to make way for Union and strike activity; (5) that the Party must work only secretly through its fractions, and not to appear before the masses as an independent force—a theory that usually accompanies a practical neglect also of the fractions.

It is clear to where all such theories lead; namely, towards the liquidation of the Communist Party as the leader of the working class.

> "The Party can and must be built prior to, during, and after the strike," declares the resolution of our Political Bureau. "But the most favorable time to build the Party is precisely *during* the strike. For it is during the struggle that the masses can quickly learn of the necessity of the knowledge and tactics of the Party. It is during the strike when the Party by advancing its position can prove to the workers in battle that it is their leader. Every effort must therefore be made to build the Party NOW."

All resistance to facing squarely the complicated organizational tasks which we must solve in every struggle, are forms of opportunism. Usually this takes the form of right-wing theory and practice, but sometimes, also, it masks itself in "left" phrases, such as the demand for "new perspectives and new tasks" to be given us before we have accomplished the tasks already set out for us.

> "What are the problems outlined by the E.C.C.I.? Unemployment and strike struggle. Is there any need of revising these fundamental problems at this time? One American comrade said that it is necessary to sum up the total of the stages of the crisis and unfold new perspectives and new problems. This is called jumping before accomplishing the old tasks. The crisis in the U.S.A. is entering a new phase, the despair of the masses is growing, but we have not yet developed any strong strike movement or movement of unemployed. And yet there are comrades who demand new tasks. This skipping, this inventing of new tasks every three months, characteristic of small parties, is extremely dangerous. It is this tendency of creating new tasks, which creates obstacles for the fulfillment of old decisions which have not been carried out. The opening up of new stages, more resolutions about new stages, but the wagon will remain in its old place." (*Comrade Manuilsky, Sept.* 18, 1930, *in American Commission*).

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Have the above words of Comrade Manuilsky been nullified by the events of the year since they were spoken. No, they are still valid. We have made some progress in unemployment struggles and strike struggles, but only a good beginning, and by no means have we carried through these tasks on such a scale that we can begin to speak of new perspectives and new tasks.

An example of this tendency to jump over the given tasks and perspectives to new ones, without the necessary preparation of actually accomplishing the old tasks, is seen in the impatient desire to solve all problems in the economic strike by jumping without preparation into the political mass strike.

The Comintern and our Party has, quite properly, been emphatically propagandizing the workers in preparation for developing political mass strikes. This is a weapon of the working class, the use of which will be characteristic of the present period. With the deepening misery of the masses and the sharpening of their struggles, the conditions will more and more rapidly mature for the organization of political mass strikes.

But it is sometimes quite different if we should begin suddenly, in the midst of the present miners' strike, for example, to raise the slogan of political mass strike as the next step, as the answer to the questions of the day in the present degree of development of the struggle. Such use of the slogan of political mass strike would not raise the movement to a higher level. On the contrary, it would disorganize the present struggle, create illusions, take the place of the every-day work which would really prepare the ground for more advanced forms of struggle.

Another example of this jumping tendency (which may be right or "left" according to the particular form which it takes) is the idea that, because we have a splendid fighting spirit among the masses, therefore we are already developing an offensive of the working class. Sometimes this is theorized, to the effect that economic struggles of the workers, defensive in character in the pre-war period, are now essential offensive actions because successful resistance to wage-cuts in the present period is sufficient to bring about the downfall of capitalism. In its least harmful form, this is no better than phrase-mongering. It is substitution of the wish for the deed, and by presenting as already accomplished that higher level of the class struggle towards which we must fight, it falsifies the perspective and distorts the tasks. Our tasks are primarily to arouse the defensive struggles of the workers, organize, broaden and deepen them, and develop them into a counter-offensive against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

One of the key paragraphs of the decisions of the recent XI

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Plenum of the ECCI, directing our attention especially to the *concrete* application of forms of the *united front from below*, warned us sharply of the necessity for *a careful and exact estimation of the concrete realities* of each situation in determining the forms of struggle to be adopted. It says:

> "This, simultaneously with the careful evaluation of the general situation, calls for an exact estimation of the situation and the relation of forces in the various branches of industry and in each enterprise, the estimation of all the peculiar features and conditions of the various strata of the workingclass and the application of corresponding methods of struggle: economic strikes, short protest strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, mass political strikes, etc."

* * *

We are learning much and rapidly in our activity, leading and organizing the struggles of the working class in the United States, in the fight for unemployment insurance and relief, and in the strike struggles against wage-cuts and speed-up. The outstanding event of this period in our struggles has been the miners' strike which is still growing stronger as this is written. We are learning much from it, but there is a thousand times more to learn, for we have only begun. In the process of the struggle, we are learning how to translate the resolutions of the Communist International and our Party from words to deeds. The resolutions and theses are coming to life. But far, far too slowly and too slumsily.

Our 13th Central Committee Plenum must become the instrument to speed this process, to overcome all hesitation and lagging behind, to fight intolerantly against all deviations, right or "left," and to lead our Party, at the head of the working class, into the thick of the battle. With firm faith in the creative powers of the toiling masses, with faith in the ability of our Pary to call forth and organize these powers, we will proceed firmly and more swiftly to the building of powerful mass organizations of struggle under the leadership of a mass Communist Party.

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Factors Governing Our Tactical Line

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE—FASCISM—SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following notes cover four of the major questions considered at the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive of the Communist International. No one can understand the present situation in Germany, in Poland, and the tasks of the Communists everywhere without a clear understanding of the features and factors dealt with in this article.*

QUESTION: How is the intensification of the class struggle and the revolutionary upsurge in capitalist countries expressed?

ANSWER: The world economic crisis strongly intensified the class contradictions of capitalist society.

The class struggle is being intensified and the revolutionary upsurge growing in all capitalist countries and colonies.

In a number of countries, particularly in Germany and Poland —the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis are growing. In China and India the revolutionary crisis is developing.

The bourgeoisie seek a way out of the crisis by worsening the material conditions of the workers and through intervention against the Soviet Union and new imperialist wars.

The proletariat is fighting against this capitalist way out of the crisis with increasing energy. "The class struggle, developing during the further evolution of the world economic crisis confronts the widest working masses with the necessity of making the final decision: either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat; either economic and political slavery or making an end of capitalist exploitation and oppression; either colonial oppression and imperialist war or peace and fraternity among nations." (Thesis on Manuilsky's report).

The revolutionary upsurge finds its expression in the tremendous growth of the economic struggle in all capitalist countries, in the growth of the unemployed movement, in the growth and the strengthening of the Red Army and the Soviet districts in China, in the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, in

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the growth of the peasant movement in the capitalist countries, in the extension and strengthening of the ideological and organizational influence of the sections of the Comintern, in the great unrest of the social-democratic workers and in the beginning of the disintegration of the social-democratic parties in individual countries.

The economic struggle in capitalist countries is growing stronger and more intense. In January, 1931, in England, the number of working days lost due to strikes was equal to 75% of all the working days lost for the whole of 1930 (3.4 million working days lost in January against 4.5 million for the whole of 1930). In France, a mass strike movement among the miners developed for the first time in ten years.

The strike movement in the colonies is growing, particularly in India. After the textile workers in Bombay were defeated in 1930, a new strike wave rose, affecting hundreds of thousands of workers.

Strikes have acquired a more stubborn, more desperate character and are growing sharper and sharper.

They are now becoming more protracted and acquiring an ever greater political significance. The economic and political struggles frequently lead to bloody clashes between the workers and fascist gangs. The workers answer the bourgeois offensive with a counter-offensive more promptly and with great vigor.

The high level of the development of a revolutionary upsurge is also expressed by the fact that the Communists in a number of capitalist countries, have begun *to lead class struggles independently*. This is a great achievement for our sections of the Comintern.

In addition to strikes, new forms of struggle—demonstrations of the unemployed, clashes between the workers and the police, the refusal of the workers to pay taxes and peasant uprisings—have come into more extensive use.

The upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement of the proletariat is being reinforced by the revolutionary-mass movement of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry in the colonies. The world economic crisis accelerates and increases the national-revolutionary movements in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries for emancipation and sharpens the revolutionary struggle for liberation from the oppression of the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie and the land owners. The banner of the Chinese Soviets, under which the workers and the peasants are fighting against the Chinese counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and imperialist interventionists, for the victory of Soviet power all over China under the leadership of the Communists, is already being unfurled over a territory with a population of more than 60 million.

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The revolutionary movement among the peasants is also growing in capitalist countries. The peasant disturbances in Roumania and Western Ukrainia, for example, bear witness to this. The reserves of the proletarian revolution, the millions of toiling peasantry, have already come into the movement, the oppressed and exploited of the whole world are rallying more and more closely round the banner of the Communist Party for the fight against the hated capitalist burden.

The revolutionary upsurge doesn't develop at the same pace everywhere. Some countries go ahead, others remain behind, but the revolutionary upsurge develops in all countries in an ascending line.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge is characterized by the growth of the *prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis* in a number of countries such as Germany and Poland, and the growth of a revolutionary crisis in China and India.

The revolutionary crisis is the result of the sharpening of all the contradictions of the capitalist system and, above all, of the growth of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. characterized the revolutionary crisis in the following way: "Growing out of the general crisis of capitalism, and the present economic crisis, the revolutionary crisis developed on the basis of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. These elements of the revolutionary crisis are bound up with the extraordinary increase of poverty and suffering of the masses, with their growing revolutionary activity, with the undermining of the whole international and internal system of capitalist domination, with the rapid regrouping of the class forces, with a crisis among the ruling classes which is seeking a way out of its own contradictions through fascism, new imperialist wars and armed intervention against the U.S.S.R." (Thesis on Manuilsky's report).

This definition embodies the nature of the development of the revolutionary process in all of its totality.

The Plenum connects the revolutionary crisis not only with the revolutionary upsurge, but with the presence of a general crisis of capitalism and above all, with the existence and growth of the U.S.S.R., with the instability of international capitalist rule, with the maturing revolutions in China, India, Germany, Poland and other countries. It is further connected with the growth of the danger of war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

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QUESTION: What did the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pay attention to its characterization of fascism?

ANSWER: *The main factor in fascism is its open offensive against the working class with the employment of every method of coercion and violence. It is civil war against the toilers.*

The process of changing from a bourgeois dictatorship to an open form of a dictatorship against the toilers is the essence of the fascization of the bourgeois state.

The correct political evaluation of fascism is of great significance in the struggle of the working class.

Fascism is not a new form of government differing radically from the so-called democratic republics. To say that it is, means to fall in with the view held by the liberal bourgeoisie. International Social-Democracy formulated it in this way advancing the new theory of the "lesser evil" and insisting that the democratic republic is the lesser evil in comparison with fascism.

The bourgeois *"democratic" republic and fascism* are only two forms, *two types of the bourgeois dictatorship.* It is impossible to mark the exact boundaries between bourgeois democracy and fascism. Fascism is an outgrowth of the democratic republic. Bourgeois democracy is only the frame within which fascism develops.

It is impossible to insist that fascism is a product of an invigorated capitalism. On the contrary, it is the product of a weakened capitalism.

The mistake of the right opportunists in their evaluation of lies, as Manuilsky said, in his concluding words at the plenum, in the fact "that it identified fascism only as the ordinary capitalist offensive, only as an increase of reaction, and attributed the increase of fascist reaction to a strengthening of the position of capital." Henceforth, the conclusion drawn that the working class has become weaker, that it is impossible to strike during a crisis, that it must retreat, that an agreement with fascism must be reached if civil war is to be averted, i.e., in other words—a definition of all the treacherous tactics of social-democracy.

The mistake of the "left" opportunists results in their seeing fascism only as the product of the disintegration of capitalism. This is an absolutely wrong way of stating the question because it ignores the important fact that fascism is not only the product of disintegrating capitalism, but is the form of an attack on the working class by capital.

Fascism contains within itself elements of the offensive of the ruling classes and elements of their disintegration. The ultimate

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fate of fascism depends on the active class struggle of the proletariat. The speed and decisiveness with which the elements of decay and disintegration will develop in fascism depends on how actively the working class will fight against fascism. Passivity and retreat of the proletariat in the struggle with fascism, results, on the contrary, in an offensive of the latter against the working class —in the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in practice completely confirms this statement. In Germany, where the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party is fighting fascism most actively, the elements of the decay of fascism are rapidly developing. In Italy, where the working class showed passivity in the struggle with fascism, the fascist dictatorship was established.

Fascism is the form of the offensive of capital on the working class but this does not mean that the proletariat is only on the defensive. In Germany, in France, in Poland and England, for example, there is a capitalist offensive and a counter-offensive and a very opposition by the working class.

Can the proletariat prevent the establishment of the fascist dictatorship? The plenum answered this question positively. The international proletariat *can prevent the fascist dictatorship from being established by ruthlessly fighting against the capitalist offensive,* against every kind of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The correlation of class forces determines whether or not the proletariat can prevent the fascist dictatorship from being established. The struggle with fascism, the struggle with the growing fascist movement, the struggle against the fascist dictatorship is now the most important task of the working class and its Communist vanguard.

QUESTION: Why did the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pay such great attention to Social-Democracy?

ANSWER: Because Social-Democracy is the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie in its struggle with the proletariat. The successful struggle for the proletarian dictatorship is impossible unless the working masses are freed from the influence of Social-Democracy.

Social-Democracy is the most *active factor and vehicle for the fascization of the capitalist states.* Social-Democracy plays the same traitorous role in the establishment of the fascist dictatorship that it played in all the basic stages of the development of the class struggle since the imperialist war.

"It sent millions of the proletariat to the imperialist war under the flag of the 'defense of the fatherland,' it helped 'its' bourgeoisie

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carry on armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. in 1928-1920. It saved capitalism from the proletarian revolution immediately after the war (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Finland). It actively helped the bourgeoisie to strengthen capitalist economy. It harnessed the working masses to the yoke of capitalist rationalization. It now applies all its energy to save the capitalist system of exploitation and slavery from impending ruin." (Manuilsky report).

The social-fascists' treachery is manifest in *all the economic and political struggles of the proletariat.* They betray the proletariat by helping the others to plunder the national masses and the colonies economically and financially, cooperate with the imperialists in their plundering activities, and the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union.

Social-fascists betray the interests of the proletariat in his class struggle from day to day. In Germany, Social-Democrat Zinscheim votes for reducing the wages of the Berlin metal workers by 8%. The German trade union bureaucrats vote for a reduction of 6% in the chauffeurs' wages. In the Ruhr, Berlin, Bradford, Lancashire, Warsaw, Paris, and Tokio the social-fascists betrayed the interests of the miners, textile, metal and transport workers. They supported rationalization which resulted in a reduction of wages and in tremendous unemployment. The Social-Democrats in Poland help the fascists break up workers' demonstrations, workers' meetings, workers' strikes. In all countries the social-fascists vote for war credits. Social-fascist Paul Boncour is the initiator of the law for the mobilization of the entire population during war. Social-fascist Renaudel speaks on the military-air fleet budget in the French Chamber of Deputies. "Socialist" Beechwood in England organizes the military expedition to India. The so-called "workers' government" in England suppresses the revolution in China and the uprisings of the colonial peoples in the English colonies. In Germany, the social-democratic government of Muller, builds battleship "A" and furnishes the means to construct a second battleship. All social-democracy supports the slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union. It supports interventions, supported, financed, and organized the counter-revolutionary work of the Russian Mensheviks in the Soviet Union.

Social-democracy has been transformed into a fascist detachment against the working class and into a militant detachment of world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

That is why the struggle with social-democracy, as the ally of fascism, as the chief social bulwark of the international bourgeoisie, is now the most important task of the proletariat.

The sharpening of the class struggle and the constant treachery

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of social-democracy has resulted in stirring the ranks of the social-democratic workers profoundly. The unrest is greatest where the development of the prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis is greatest, as for example, in Germany and Poland. The elements of the decay of social-democracy are accumulating and with the masses of the social-democratic workers growing more revolutionary, social-democracy was forced to start a number of left manoeuvers. Thus, for example, it is now manoeuvering in the question of fascism and bourgeois democracy. It advances a slogan for the reduction of the working week, the "five day week," it carries on a pretended struggle against the decrease in wages, against the attack on social insurance, for the reducement of armaments, against the preparation for intervention against the Soviet Union, etc. Everywhere, we see social-democracy making left manoeuvres. But these left manoeuvres can not prevent the social-democratic workers from leaving the party because its treacherous policy becomes increasingly clear to these workers.

QUESTION: What is the principal task of the Communist Parties at this stage of the class struggle?

ANSWER: *The winning of the bulk of the working class and their preparation for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat remains as formerly the principal task of the Communist Parties.*

Our brother Communist Parties, during these last years, have succeeded in achieving considerable success in the work of winning the bulk of the working people to their side. The Communist Parties have grown in number and in the extent of their political influence over the proletariat. The consistent tactics of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resulted in the right opportunists being completely routed and the ranks of the Communist Parties cleaned from the right and "left" renegades and the conciliating elements. Never before have the sections of the Comintern been so united as today. But the defeat of the right and "left" opportunists does not mean that the struggle with opportunism is over, because the opportunist danger still remains.

The chief danger with which the world revolutionary movement is faced remains the *right danger*. It will exist as long as capitalism and all its contradictions, its whole apparatus of oppression, repression, exists, as long as the influence of social-democracy on the working class has not been annihilated. Finland

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gave a striking example of a right deviation with the Communist Party actually capitulating before fascism. In the Chinese Communist Party, the right Shendisyuist elements defended the liquidatorist views in the struggle against the dictatorship of Chang-Kai-Shek. In Italy, the representatives of right opportunism were Santino Blasquo and Ferracia, who stood for liquidatorist pessimism in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The Communist International all throughout, fought all these right deviations in the ranks of the Communist Party most ruthlessly.

Among the "left mistakes," that of Comrade Merker of Germany, who placed the social-democratic workers on a level with their leaders, is the most outstanding. We must further note the "left" mistake of Comrade Li Li Syan in China, who, starting out with an incorrect evaluation of the revolutionary situation, liquidated the Chinese trade union organization and came to absolutely wrong putchist deductions which threatened to destroy the Chinese Communist Party.

The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. affirmed the significant success of the German Communist Party and the growth of the political and organizational influence of a number of sections of other countries. This is confirmed by the results of the elections to the Reichstag and the factory mill committees in Germany, in Czechoslovakia, the growth of the influence of the Communist Party in Poland, the mass revolutionary demonstrations, etc. An increase in the membership of the Communist Party can be seen in Germany, Poland, Italy, China, Indo-China, Spain, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary and other sections as well. The growing political influence of the Communist Party is to be seen in the successful revolutionary struggle of the workers and the toiling peasantry in China; the formation of Soviets and the Red Army there and in the growth of the Chinese Communist Party. This influence is further expressed in the organization of a Communist Party in Indo-China and in India, reaching many millions of masses in Indo-China, and many Indian workers and peasants and which carries on a revolutionary struggle against the oppression of the national and imperialist bourgeoisie.

But accompanying these significant successes are *serious deficiencies in the work of our sections.* These deficiencies are the reasons why the growth of our organizations and the extent of their influence lags behind the revolutionary upsurge. This lagging behind can be seen in numerous fields of our revolutionary struggle. Our Communist Parties have by no means reorganized themselves into militant units everywhere, not every-

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where have they taken the path of the independent leadership of the economic battles of the proletariat. This backwardness is particularly true of the Communist movement of three of the largest capitalist countries—the U.S.A., France and England.

This backwardness manifests itself in the under-estimation of the rate at which the working class is moving leftward. A number of strikes rose spontaneously, not prepared by the Communist Parties (Lancashire, South Wales, the political and economic war in Spain and others). The lagging behind manifested itself in the insufficient organization of the movement of the unemployed, particularly in the countries of fascist terror, where our parties had been driven underground. The lagging behind is also making itself felt in the inability of our Communist Parties to mobilize the masses for the revolutionary struggle on the basis of their daily concrete needs, such as can be understood by every worker. It manifests itself in the influence of the Communist Parties being weakly consolidated organizationally. Most of our organizations are very weak in large industrial enterprises. The problem of shifting the center of gravity from general Party and trade union work to the mill-factory enterprises is even more acute. Only 10% of the Party membership are in the factory-mill nuclei, in the U.S.A., in Czechoslovakia, 14%, etc. And this proves the tremendous work ahead of us still in this field. The lagging behind further manifested itself in the actual capitulation of the Finnish Communist Party to fascism in the summer of 1930, in the insufficient support given by the Communist Parties of the imperialist states to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, in the inadequate struggle against fascism and social-fascism, and the inadequate attention paid by our brother Communist Parties to the Young Communist League.

In order to overcome this backwardness we must increase the struggle *for winning the majority of the working class* so that we can prepare it for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. If our Communist Party is to carry out this task the greatest activity is demanded. This demands that the Communist Parties become mass parties of the working class, that above all, the revolutionary trade unions become really mass organizations in all capitalist countries. The fight for the majority of the working class must be carried on by struggling against the capitalist offensive and the organization of the counter-offensive of the proletariat, against the reduction of wages, against the system of part time work, for the seven hour working day at the same increased wages, for the immediate help to be given to the unemployed, etc. It must also continue to fight against every kind of bourgeois dictatorship, against bourgeois democracy as well as against the fascist dictator-

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ship. As the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist offensive develops, our Communist Parties must ruthlessly and steadfastly expose the traitorous role of the social-democratic and reformist leaders. The faith of the social-democratic workers can be won and the social-democratic organization destroyed if a most resolute and ruthless struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, independent of what form it may take, is carried on.

We must also liquidate, as soon as possible, the organizational lag in the political influence of our Communist Parties. Our sections of the Comintern must pay very serious attention to winning the proletariat and as our allies, the toiling masses in the city and village, above all, the many millions of the poor and small peasants. This struggle for drawing many millions of the peasantry over to the side of the working class during the present great agrarian crisis plays an important role in the fight against capitalism.

One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is the organization of the working class and the toilers for the fight against the preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Parties must expose the preparation of the bourgeoisie for a new imperialist war, for a war against the U.S.S.R. by pointing to concrete examples. It must expose systematically the social-democratic lackeys, helping their masters prepare a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The Communists of all countries must increase their work in the capitalist armies. The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in its resolutions on the report of Comrade Cachin, emphasizes this and reminds all Communists of the instructions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, dictated by Lenin:

"The obligation to disseminate Communist ideas necessitates the carrying on of a steadfast systematic propaganda in the armies. There where this agitation is prohibited by special laws, it must be carried on illegally. To reject such work would be equal to betraying revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.

The increase of the work in capitalist armies, the systematic explanation of the significance of the preparation of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. to the working masses, the ruthless exposure of the treacherous role of the social-fascists, the organization of the proletariat and the toiling peasantry for the defense of the U.S.S.R.—such are the basic elements of the struggle of the Communist Parties with armed intervention against the country which is building socialism.

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Next Steps in the Coal Strike

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE outstanding lesson of the big national conference of coal miners, held in Pittsburgh on July 15-16, consisting of 685 delegates from the principal coal fields, was the manifest readiness of the miners throughout the coal industry to struggle. The reports of the delegates showed first, that the miners universally confront starvation conditions and second, that they react against this deepening slavery with a militant strike mood. The basis is present for a national strike movement. While our strategy is directed towards the development of such a national strike, our main tactical line is the strengthening of our present strike and extend it to the nearby territories.

The great problem is how this strike can be organized. It would have been very fine if, at the beginning of the strike, a national strike call could have been issued. But manifestly this was impossible because of the weakness of the National Miners Union organizationally and in prestige. The miners would not have responded. And even at the recent Pittsburgh conference the situation was not yet ripe (lack of organization in Southern West Virginia, weakness in Illinois, Anthracite, etc.) for such a national strike call. Hence the conference was compelled to adopt the method of spreading the struggle district by district, with the perspective of a bigger pull later after more organization has been established.

The conference prepared a practical basis for such an extension of the struggle. Its program of general demands gives the whole rank and file movement a fighting platform. Its united front "Miners Unity Committee of Action" provides a means to unite the various disconnected strike movements and rank and file upheavals in the U.M.W.A. with the N.M.U. Its policy of spreading the strike into the various districts on the basis of local programs of demands is a practical method of broadening the fighting front. The holding of the conference was fully justified. If anything, we were a couple of weeks late with it.

The National Conference marks a second stage in the miners' struggle against the operators and their U.M.W.A. and government allies. For this is developing more and more the character of a counter-offensive strike. It would be to completely misunderstand this strike to consider it as merely a defensive struggle. For several years past the miners, demoralized by the loss and betrayal of the great 1927-28 strike, took wage cut after wage cut, until their

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standards were reduced from 50 to 75 per cent. Now they are fighting back.

While this strike began as a defensive fight against a local wage cut at the Avella mines, the strike is taking on a counter-offensive character by the raising of the slogan of "Spread the Strike," and by broadening the struggle as far as possible by the unity of the employed and unemployed, by the raising of political issues, which marks the raising of the struggle to a higher level. The first wave of this counter-offensive extended the fight to Eastern Ohio and Northern West Virginia, with 40,000 miners involved in actual strike. The second wave of the counter-offensive, launched by the national conference, aims to precipitate the struggle into Kentucky, Central Pennsylvania, Middle and Southern West Virginia, and Southern Illinois.

With the impetus given by the national conference, such an extension of the fight is entirely within our possibilities. In fact, although the conference (at this writing) is only 5 days past, important steps have been taken to develop the struggle in various districts. In Kentucky, a state-wide conference has been announced, which will undoubtedly lay the basis for a wide strike in that territory. In Central Pennsylvania, a conference of 300 miners, representing 6000 workers, has already been held and arrangements have been made for a second conference (five days from now) at which demands will be formulated and definite steps taken to draw many thousands of miners of this section into the struggle. In West Virginia, a northern conference has just been held and a crew of organizers is being built up. Headquarters will be established at a key point and a state-wide conference organized as soon as practicable. Here will come the problem of drawing in the Keeney movement on a rank and file united front basis. What the West Virginia miners think of the N.M.U. and its program is evidenced by a request (in today's mail) for 2,000 application cards for the miners in the Pursglove mines, signed up under a scab U.M.W.A. agreement. In Illinois activities will be begun immediately to develop a united front between the N.M.U. and the local rank and file movement, under the leadership of an Illinois "Miners Unity Committee of Action." Mass meetings, conferences, etc., will at once be organized. Illinois, because of the local comrades' pessimism and failure to defeat the fake progressive leaders, is the weakest spot in the whole N.M.U. line-up. In the Anthracite, the united front program will also be vigorously pushed.

The hardest part of this program of extending the strike—and the key to all our work—is to maintain firmly the strike lines in the present strike zone. This is a great task. The miners are faced

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with starvation, evictions, police terror, U.M.W.A. scabbing, government strikebreaking, etc., on an unparalleled scale. Every effort is therefore being put forth in this area to develop a second wave of attack by the strengthening of the picket lines and strike committees, the holding of a union district convention, organization of unemployment demonstrations, and the general stimulation of the struggle. The great task is, while we spread the strike to new fields, to prevent its collapsing at the heart in the present strike area.

In all this spreading and holding of the strike the question of relief plays a most decisive role. The whole matter of keeping what we have got and spreading the struggle into new territory is entirely tied up with the relief question. And it is exactly in this basic question that we have displayed the greatest weakness of any phase of the strike. Our national miners' relief campaign is perhaps the feeblest mass effort we have ever made. It is tragically weak. We could and should be collecting 20 times as much relief as we are at present. The campaign must be strengthened immediately and at all costs. The workers realize the importance of the miners' struggle and will contribute to its support if we but give them a chance. The fate of our whole strike movement depends upon the instant speeding of the relief work. In the impermissible weakness of our relief work lies the real danger to our strike.

The question of systematically building our Party is likewise of decisive importance. This Party building campaign must be carried on in every mine field vigorously—not only in the present strike zone. Large numbers of miners are ready to join our Party. In every district where there are coal fields the Party building among these workers must be made the first order of business of the Party in that locality. Now is the time to lay a solid backbone of Party among the miners. The building of the Party must not await the spread of the strike, but should, whenever possible, precede it. *A strong corps of Party organizers must at once be put into the mine fields in the various districts. This has also been grievously neglected.*

The present strike of 40,000 miners is by far the greatest mass struggle conducted by revolutionary unionists in this country. Its outcome will be of the most profound importance in the development of the Party and the T.U.U.L. But, big though the present strike is, we have in our hands the possibility for the development of a far greater struggle. Let me repeat that there is clearly the opportunity here to vastly spread the strike of the miners. It is a great task and our forces seem small to accomplish it, but it can and must be done. Let us realize clearly, however, that the immediate and broad extenstion of relief collection is a fundamental, if not the decisive question in the extension of the miners' strike.

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Some Major Lessons from a Minor Strike

By I. AMTER

THE question of strike strategy grows ever more important in view of the increasing number of strikes forced upon the workers by the crisis and the wage-slashing campaign of the bosses, the growing influence of the Trade Union Unity League and its revolutionary unions, and the strikes that they lead and those in which the revolutionary opposition is called upon to exercise leadership when the reactionary leadership attempts to or actually sells out the strikes.

Two phases of strike strategy must be noted: the strategy required in preparing and conducting strikes under the leadership of the revolutionary union directly, or through the united front; and that demanded during strikes carried on and led by the fascist or social-fascist leadership of the A. F. of L., the Musteites, and the Socialist Party.

In the former, the revolutionary union must build up grievance committees or groups of workers on the basis of the united front of the members of the revolutionary union, A. F. of L. or independent union and the unorganized workers. All the strike machinery must be prepared and organized—defense, relief, publicity, strike fund, special organizational forms for youth, Negro and women. The basis for the struggle is the economic condition of the workers, which forces the workers to carry on a fight. A splendid example of this united front from below is the miners' strike, which has taken on the broadest character in the fields of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky, and is likely to spread to other bituminous fields. This united front which has drawn in militant workers into the central and local strike committees is manifesting excellent militancy, strategy and leadership, despite the weaknesses that necessarily arise out of the inexperience as yet of the T.U.U.L. in handling strikes of such dimensions, despite the inexperience of the miners themselves in organization, leadership and strategy, and despite the forces that were sent against them in the form of starvation, terror and attempted treachery of the U.M.W.A. officialdom. This form of united front has also been built up in Paterson, where the silk workers (at this writing) are preparing for a

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general strike. It takes on a broader character outside the confines of Paterson—where the united front is based upon the National Textile Workers Union, members of the Associated Silk Workers and the United Textile Workers, and especially unorganized workers—being tied up with the growing united struggle of the silk workers of Central Falls, Pawtucket and Allentown (under U. T. W. leadership). The united front from below is the form of strategy that is uniting the broadest masses of workers under the leadership of the revolutionary union. (This is called the "sectarian (!) trade union line" by the Lovestoneites).

In the latter case, when the strike is led by the reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, the revolutionary opposition, building its forces within the union, strives for the independent leadership of the workers themselves, organizing them into the revolutionary opposition. The opposition demands rank and file strike committees to conduct the strike, puts forward its demands and settles the strike under the direct control of the rank and file. The revolutionary opposition does not stop with the forces within the union, but lines up the unorganized workers and the unemployed, with special stress on youth, women and Negroes, if such are employed in the industry. It does not confine its efforts to carry on a struggle solely for the organized workers in the union, but draws the unorganized and unemployed into the revolutionary opposition (or industrial union), and makes a fight also in their interests. It watches every step of the reactionary leadership, exposing every attempt at treachery and sell-out, strengthening the demands of the rank and file. When the sell-out is attempted, it calls upon the workers to take the leadership of the strike into their own hands, thus eliminating the fascist leaders and their lieutenants.

This requires great skill, care, and tenacity, for the reactionary leaders will try to have the sell-out complete before the workers know about it. It will have the forces lined up for the sell-out, thus trying through a completed action to send the workers back to work. To arouse the workers in the midst of the sell-out, to mobilize their forces, to take the leadership out of the hands of the betrayers and to continue the strike, is *imperative*. Otherwise the workers will continually be betrayed, and no successful strike will be possible.

The methods of fascist leadership of the reactionary unions are demanded by the capitalists. The crisis is forcing the workers to struggle. The capitalists are trying to put the crushing burdens of the deepening crisis on the shoulders of the workers, through wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment. The United States Steel Corporation

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announces that at the next meeting of the stockholders in late July the question of wage cuts or a lowering of dividend will be considered. There is no question that wages will be slashed, and the steel workers will be forced to struggle against starvation and misery as the miners and textile workers are now doing.

To take over leadership in such a situation requires skill, initiative, daring. This is a situation that requires the utmost concentration of energy, a powerful offensive on the part of the rank and file, the immediate setting up of the necessary strike machinery and the drawing in of the reserves, by the revolutionary opposition. To miss the moment means to sacrifice the workers to the reactionary burocracy. It means to make the workers once more the victims of the bosses through their fascist tools within the working class, the reactionary officials of the A. F. of L., the Musteites, and the Socialist Party.

A complete misconception of revolutionary strike strategy and an opportunist collapse before the situation was recently manifested in the strike of the pocketbook workers in New York City. This strike involved 4,000 workers of an unimportant industry but it is of tremendous significance to the American workers in that it was the first instance during the life of the Trade Union Unity League that the revolutionary opposition had the opportunity and duty of assuming independent leadership in a sold-out strike. In this task the revolutionary leadership failed, and the lessons of this failure must be drawn and learned for the benefit of the entire American working class.

On May 1, the agreement of 4,000 pocketbook workers with the manufacturers of New York expired. Of the 4,000 workers, 1,500 had lost their jobs owing to the removal of certain shops from New York City, and many hundreds more were unemployed because of the crisis. On May 1, the bosses locked out the workers. The workers put forward their demands through the leadership of the union, headed by Laderman, a socialist, and member of the executive committee of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (Musteites). These demands were for the 40-hour week, unemployment insurance paid by the bosses, and an increase in the minimum scale of wages. The answer of the bosses was to demand a 25 per cent cut in wages and 20 per cent reorganization. This was the first time that the bosses ever raised the question of reorganization. No doubt they thought they could put it through, owing to the fearful unemployment and the general crisis. Reorganization means rationalization and disemployment of at least one-fifth of the workers. This merely increases the tre-

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mendous unemployment in the trade and puts the best weapon into the hands of the employers for weeding out all militant workers and blacklisting them.

In typical strikebreaking fashion, the leaders negotiated with the bosses behind the backs of the workers, ignoring both the strike committee and the workers. As a social fascist—and presumably a "left" socialist, since he is a member of the executive committee of the C.P.L.A.—Laderman brought the Socialist Party officially into the picture. A socialist dentist, by the name of Hendin, once a member of the Communist Party, began his role as intermediator between the manufacturers and the socialist leaders of the union. This was the method of betrayal. The manufacturers emboldened by the sell-out policy of the social fascist union leaders, made new demands, and an agreement with the leaders was effected on the following basis: addition of a second helper to each mechanic, a wage cut of 7½ to 12½ per cent, plus 2½ per cent more to be deducted from the wages of the workers for the unemployment insurance fund, and the creation of a board of standards, which will mean more intense rationalization and unemployment. Hendin, the socialist, has become the administrator of the unemployment insurance fund, in which he will play the foul role of the German and Belgian insurance fund administrators, who cut the militants off the insurance list altogether.

This is the "settlement" which Laderman, the social fascist leader, had the nerve to present to a packed meeting of the pocketbook workers. At the meeting he tried, like a fascist, to drown the voice of the rank and file. Despite his fascist methods, at this meeting of more than 2,000 workers, he secured only 745 votes for the "settlement," against 701 against. Flinching under the "success" of such an "approval" of his settlement he added 350 more votes from New Jersey. It was clear to the workers that the majority of the workers were against the settlement and had voted against it. But the faker did his own counting and rammed things through.

The revolutionary opposition in the union was organized into the Pocketbook Makers Industrial League, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League. The League was well organized and added to its strength during the progress of the strike. It carried on good propaganda before and during the strike and pointed out the danger of treachery to the workers. But the leaders of the revolutionary opposition were taken by surprise by the tremendous support that they received in the vote on the settlement. They were caught napping and consequently did not carry on the fight as they should have done. At a meeting called by the Industrial League two nights

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later, with an attendance of close to 1,000 workers, the leaders of the Industrial League failed completely to carry out revolutionary strike strategy. They failed to size up the situation, the character of the meeting—a meeting of militant workers, who were outraged by the sell-out and looked for leadership. They hesitated, became over-cautious, and lacking daring and initiative, gave up the leadership of the strike. Instead of continuing the strike under independent leadership, putting up their own strike committees, pulling more shops on strike (three large independent shops were working) and mobilizing the unemployed for militant strike activity, they advanced a program of organization in the shops—with a large part of the workers unemployed, and the season slack! They advocated shop strikes when the workers returned to work. They feared to assert the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League —even electing as chairman of the meeting not one of the leaders, not even a rank and filer of the Pocketbook Makers Industrial League, but a non-League member, who is opposed to the policy of the T.U.U.L.

What were the chief errors in the struggle of the revolutionary League?

1. The leaders could not see the difference between *calling* strikes under revolutionary leadership, and *taking over* strikes. In the former case, there is the necessity of building up grievance and shop committees and all other organization in the shops on the basis of the united front that will connect the revolutionary league with the workers in the shops. In the latter case (taking over the leadership of the strike), it is necessary quickly, energetically to set up the necessary machinery for assuming leadership in the strike that has been sold out by the reactionaries, with the workers willing to fight.

2. This failure to estimate the situation properly, and to see the duty of the revolutionary opposition to assume *independent leadership* in the strike over the heads of the social fascist leaders, showed a complete underestimation of the workers' strength, militancy, and willingness to struggle against the bosses, reactionary leaders, and government. It is a clear opportunist lack of faith in the masses, an underestimation of the radicalization of the workers. It constitutes a betrayal of the workers.

3. Giving up the leadership in the strike, the League failed to see the possibility of *spreading the strike* to the three large shops where the workers had voted against the settlement. This would not only have made it possible to continue the strike, but to extend it. The leaders of the League in an opportunist manner demanded a 100 per cent guarantee of success in taking over the leadership. They

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did not recognize that militant leadership, with proper policy, would in itself furnish the *only* guarantee for winning the strike.

4. The League leaders could not see that the *unemployed* instead of being a force against them were the most powerful force at their disposal for fighting against the settlement and the sell-out.

5. Underestimation of the *leading role of the Industrial League* in the united front played a serious part in the strategy. Although the united front was established and functioned well, the Industrial League leaders believed that the workers in the united front could not be trusted, because they were in the united front for the first time, many of them members of the capitalist parties including the socialist party, and not readers of the revolutionary press. Many of them were, until recently, followers of the reactionary machine in the union. The leaders could not understand the rapid changes in ideology that are taking place at present, when the struggle forces the workers to fight because of the impact of the crisis and, in this case, the most shameful sell-out. In this situation, the Industrial League, and especially the leaders, should have assumed real leadership. Either this, or the role of the Industrial League—the revolutionary opposition—is not understood in the united front, and the revolutionary opposition actually has no role.

6. The Industrial League leaders had illusions regarding the *character of the reactionary leadership* of the union, believing that "real" democracy existed in the union, that the leadership would not dare to sell out the strike. As a result, the Industrial League did not clearly see the coming sell-out and, therefore, was not prepared. They believed that because the reactionary leadership allowed the Industrial League a free hand to carry on its propaganda work, through leaflets, forums and meetings, that democracy was an established fact in the union. They did not see that this was part of the strategy of the reactionaries, to give the glamor of democracy and "left wingism" to the union (in true Muste style), in order better to betray the workers when the struggle began.

7. The comrades had a *legalistic* attitude that makes impossible the assumption of independent leadership in strikes. The Industrial League leadership were convinced that the T.U.U.L. League was so well established in the union that the reactionary leaders would not "dare" to take any steps that would outlaw the T.U.U.L., that the membership would protect the T.U.U.L. group against any action in the union. On the other hand, they failed to see that the taking over of independent leadership means the open challenge to the leadership, means the setting up of machinery to take over the union—the real and only method of ousting the leadership from the

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union. The Industrial League leaders did put up the slogan of "oust the (reactionary) leaders," evidently not knowing what this involved. Ousting the leadership can and, in this situation *must*, take place in the midst of struggle. This is the only way unless workers harbor the opportunist conception that the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. can or will be eliminated at this period of struggle. The A. F. of L. will remain even though the rank and file is won away. The capitalists have the greatest need of the A. F. of L. today, as witness the revival of dead United Mine Workers of America, now being brought back to life by the coal operators and Governor Pinchot. The employers are reviving and trying to reestablish this fascist, strike-breaking organization as a means of fighting the revolutionary unions. Hence the only way —not of capturing the reactionary unions—but of winning the rank and file, is in the struggle itself.

8. One of the main errors in the situation was the inability of the Industrial League to proceed *from propaganda to action*. It still lived in the period of the Trade Union *Educational* League—as a league of propaganda within the reactionary unions. Today in the period of sharpening struggle, when we must take rapid steps from propaganda to action, the Industrial League, and particularly the leaders, who do not make the *sharpest turn*, completely fail.

The responsibility of the Party and the T.U.U.L. cannot be over-stated. The T.U.U.L. in particular, which knew that the strike was coming, should have made the proper preparations. The Party should have prepared the T.U.U.L. through the fraction. This was not done. The Communist fraction did not carry on systematic work during the strike. The rank and file of the fraction was not kept informed of the developments of the strike and the coming sell-out. The leader of the Party fraction, weak and vacillating, with strong opportunist tendencies, failed to assume the leadership in the League that was required by the situation. The Trade Union Unity Council of New York paid little attention to the Pocketbook Makers League prior to and during the strike, and although the Party and the T.U.U.L. took sharp measures at the crucial moment for the Industrial League to assume independent leadership in the strike, on the basis of the united front, the opportunist leaders failed to carry out the line, and the moment was gone. The workers, some of whom have returned to work, are discouraged, demoralized and disgusted.

The Party fraction believed that the policy proposed by the leadership of the fraction was the Party policy. Only after the strike, when the matter was discussed at length, was it possible to win a

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part of the fraction to the correct Party line, although the leaders still persist in their opportunist position.

All the predictions of the Party have been fulfilled. The workers have already met with wage cuts and reorganization. Contrary to the prediction of the fraction leaders, the workers have not been drawn out again in strike. Now plugging work must be carried on to establish the leading role of the T.U.U.L. among these workers.

The Pocketbook Makers Industrial League must now begin to build groups and shop committees in all the shops. It must prepare energetically for shop strikes in all shops in which attempts of reorganization and wage cuts are made. It must organize the unemployed for joint action with the employed workers. It must develop a program of demands and action for the unemployed together with the employed workers. It must carry on a campaign of exposure of the reactionary leadership of the union—Laderman, the socialist and member of the Muste group, employing typical Muste strike-breaking methods.

The Party and the T.U.U.L. must thoroughly discuss the lessons of this failure to apply priper strike strategy. The meaning of independent strike leadership by the revolutionary opposition, on the lines of the R.I.L.U. decisions, the breaking down of all legalism, the development of the united front in struggle, the mobilization of the widest forces for the struggle—these are some of the lessons that the Party and the T.U.U.L. must thoroughly understand if they are to be prepared to meet and properly lead the growing struggles of the American workers.

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The Young Communist League Turns to Struggle

By GIL GREEN

THE 6th National Convention of the Young Communist League was one of great significance to the entire revolutionary movement of the United States, especially to the youth movement. The convention based all of its deliberations and decisions on the effects of the deepening economic crisis, on the sharpening offensive of the bourgeoisie against the toiling masses, and on the growing danger of an armed attack upon the Soviet Union. The convention reflected the rising tide of struggle, particularly the growing strike wave, and sharply brought before the League its tasks in winning the youth for a struggle against the offensive of the boss class.

The convention showed very clearly the fact that the League has as yet not become the organizer and leader of the youth in the struggle for their daily needs. What do we mean by this? The League does not take up and defend the day to day interests of the toiling youth. It does not take up the daily problems of the white and Negro youth in the factories, on the farms, among the unemployed, on the sport field, and in the schools. It does not take up the day to day interests of the millions of working class children.

The greatest weakness in the work of the League is its failure to especially take up the struggle for the economic needs of the youth. The letter of the Young Communist International to the 6th Convention pointed out that the chief weakness of the Y.C.L. was its "failure to place in to the foreground of the daily activity of the League the task of organizing and mobilizing the youth for economic struggles on the basis of the most immediate interests of the toiling youth."

What are the causes for this weakness? First and foremost, there is a right opportunist underestimation of the radicalization of the young workers and their willingness to struggle. This is expressed in the deep neglect and underestimation of trade union, factory and unemployed work. This is shown by the small percentage of League members who are to be found in the trade unions.

On the other hand, due to the sectarian isolation of the League from the life of the young workers, we find a failure to under-

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stand their daily needs. This is expressed in the failure to put forth immediate partial demands for the young workers in the factories and among the unemployed. These tendencies lead both to a failure to participate in the economic struggle.

The tendency to separate the work of the League from the daily struggles of the young workers, was sharply expressed in the mechanical application of the Plans of Action. To too great an extent the plans were only mechanical figures, and did not turn the League towards its basic work. The comrades failed to see in the figures of the plans a gauge of the ability of our League to organize and lead the struggles of the youth. Instead, the figures become goals in themselves, separated from the struggle.

The convention hit this tendency sharply. It also hit the tendency to negate the principles of planned work. Certain comrades at the convention tried to solve the mechanical approach by doing away with plans entirely. They failed to realize that the Young Communist League is based on bolshevik principles of organization. The League cannot be a loose organization with no plan and no goal. The League must like every army that fights a strong enemy, plan and organize its every advance. Without this, our organization can not, in any sense of the word, call itself Communist.

The League made many mistakes in turning towards planned activity. In the first plan there was much phrase-mongering. All of the plans were drawn up in a burocratic manner from above without drawing the membership into the working out of the plan. The plans were applied mechanically and in many places did not turn the League towards its basic work. Despite these serious shortcomings, however, the plans were steps forward in the life of the League. We must not abolish planned work, but improve and overcome the mistakes of our past plans on the basis of our experiences.

The convention paid detailed attention to the development of the economic struggle. It took cognizance of the growing participation of the youth in the struggles of the working class. The youth played important roles in general strike battles such as the miners' and textile strikes. The youth also participated in the struggle of the unemployed. In the past months there has taken place an increasing number of youth strikes. These strikes showed the readiness of the young workers for struggle.

In the past months the League played a more important role in the economic struggles. It was a force in the miners' and textile strikes. In a number of strikes the League played a leading role, and was able to organize and lead successfully strike struggles of young workers.

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In the League there is much confusion on the role of youth demands and youth sections. The League does not realize the importance of partial demands for the youth. There is unclarity on the relation of the immediate partial demands to our general youth demands. The convention pointed out that the League must create partial demands for the young workers in the most important factories and industries. These demands must be based on the day to day needs of the young workers, and must be levers by which we create struggle for our general youth program.

In many places the youth comrades and especially the leading comrades of the Party and the revolutionary unions, have developed the attitude that the youth have no specific problems and thus need no youth demands and youth forms. This attitude is still a remnant of the old craft ideology of the skilled workers in the reactionary unions. It fails to see the special problems of the unorganized and unskilled masses.

The failure to see the special problem of the youth leads logically to a failure to win the youth for the struggle. In the two unions where this tendency is most prevalent, we see the fruits of this theory. In the present miners' strike the comrades report that in those sections where there is a back to work movement, the youth are among the first to go back. In the Paterson strike we find an inability to broaden the strike sufficiently among the dye workers who are a majority of youth. In an article of Nat Kaplan in the *Daily Worker* of August 7th, he points out that in the Weybosset mill a group of young workers were among the first to go back after the fake vote.

What does this show? *That the youth are not as militant and as courageous fighters as the adult workers?* Certainly not! In these same strikes the youth played a prominent role. The above incidents of the miners' and textile strikes *are a result of the failure on the part of these two unions to recognize the youth problem as a major problem.* Without fighting for the special needs of the youth for their demands, we will not be able to win and lead the youth.

We also find in our trade union work tendencies to look upon youth demands and youth sections mechanically. The comrades attempted to look at youth demands as separate and apart from the demands of the adult workers. In the miners' strike the comrades failed to see that besides the specific youth demands, the general demands of 55c a ton and $4 a day for outside work, are also demands which effect directly the youth and must be explained to them as their own demands.

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In the work of building youth sections, the League made the error of disconnecting the youth sections from the union and struggle. These separatist tendencies must be fought. They flow from a failure to understand that the youth section is part of the union—that it is the union's arm among the youth. Youth sections can only be built around the struggle for the every day needs of the youth. Without a struggle for these needs, the youth section will only degenerate into a social club and will not fulfill its role of winning the youth for the union and struggle.

In our economic trade union work we also find a dangerous tendency of hiding the face of our League. The League is not placed before the young workers as their leader. Our comrades capitulate to the moods of the most backward masses and to the attack of the press on the "reds." This tendency is sharply expressed in the midst of strike struggle. In the miners' strike, in Paterson, in the Rhode Island strike, and in all other strikes this tendency was apparent. The comrades fail to understand that the building of the League must come simultaneously with the building of the unions. Without building the revolutionary core, we can have no guarantee of the existence of the union after the strike.

This tendency also flows from a failure to understand the entire role and character of the League. In Massachusetts the tendency was expressed of "first we must build the Party and union, then the League." The comrades fail to understand that the League in its composition and character is broader than the Party. The League must be a mass organization not only in the sense that it leads the masses of youth, but also in its composition. The League must include in its ranks as many of the best young workers as possible, and not limit itself to a chosen few. The theory of the "elite" is part of our sectarian sickness. Our comrades must realize that *the League must be built in the preparation of strike struggles, during strike struggles and after strike struggles.* We must fight against any tendencies to hide the face of the League. In these struggles the Young Worker must especially be used as an important means of bringing forward the face of the League.

The failure to see the need of building the League on a broad basis is further expressed in a failure to understand the need of organization in the preparation of struggle. Certain comrades failed to see that we must be the conscious organizer of struggle and not fall back on the spontaneity of the masses. Such a conception means for our League not to lead the young workers, but to lag behind them.

. . There was a tendency to forget the importance of day to day

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factory work. Comrades were carried away by the growing strike struggles and failed to realize that these are the products of months of work in building shop nuclei, shop organization committees, etc. They could not see the fact that to pay attention to the daily work of a shop nucleus, to organize a shop committee, and to carry on the other so-called routine tasks of the League, was just as indispensible to the organization of struggle as the actual leadership of the struggle when it had started. They failed to see that only by preparing and organizing the struggle in advance could we lead the young workers.

The convention hit very sharply all tendencies to underestimate the organizational end of our work. The convention also hit the tendency that trade union work is only the property of the comrades who are in the trade union apparatus. The convention demanded that every League member and every League unit be active in trade union work. The organization of the economic struggle is the job of the League as a whole.

This means, that we must make every single unit the leader of the young workers with which they come in contact. The unit must take up the daily problems of the youth, must carry on its work around the factory, and must check up the work of its members in the trade unions, and must in its every day life reflect the struggle of the young workers. This is the only basic manner by which the inner life of our League can be changed and the large fluctuation stopped.

While this article only goes into some of the problems in the trade union work of our League, the convention analyzed all important phases of League work. It went into the unemployed work and our mistakes. It sharply hit the opportunist underestimation of the war danger and the neglect of anti-militarist work. It hit the right errors made in our Negro work and worked out the means by which the League is to take over the leadership of the youth in the struggle for Negro rights. The convention went deeply into the problem of winning the working class children. It also took up the work on the sports field, the struggle against the opponents, and the relation of all of our work to the building of the trade unions.

The convention definitely showed that the League was beginning to break its isolation from the young workers and was emerging from the crisis in which it found itself at the time of the Party convention (July, 1930). The fact that the League could take up all of its basic problems and turn towards the daily struggle, is a result of the fact that the League has in the past period begun to

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fight against both right and "left" opportunism. The little progress that the League has made was only gained thru the struggle for the line of the Y.C.I. and by the expulsion from the leadership of those elements who were hindering the turn.

The struggle for the line of the Y.C.I. must be intensified if the League is to break sharply from its past. In this connection the League must fight against all conciliatory tendencies which express themselves in agreement with the line in words but fail to carry out in deeds. The decisions of the convention must be brought down to every unit and member.

The Party must realize that the problem of winning the majority of the working class youth. This task is not only the task of the Young Communist League. The Party must realize that this is one of the most important tasks of the entire revolutionary movement. This task grows more and more in importance as the preparations for war grow greater. The Party from the top to the bottom must understand the significance of the youth problem. The Party must mobilize the mass auxiliaries to take up the question of youth. The Party must fight against any tendencies both in the Party and trade unions to underestimate the importance of the youth problem. Only with the full support and daily political guidance of the Party will the League be able to carry out the decisions of its 6th Convention and complete the turn to mass work.

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The Significance of August 23—Anti-Imperialist Day

By JOHN BELL

AUGUST 23, which follows the August 1st Anti-War Day, is the anniversary of the brutal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti by the Yankee capitalist justice. It is an *Anti-Imperialist Day* throughout Latin America, a day of struggle against imperialism, especially American imperialism.

The defiance of the capitalist class of the United States to the international protest of the world revolutionary proletariat in 1927, that sought to prevent the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti, was taken up as a challenge by the Latin American oppressed masses. It became since then a day of revolutionary tradition in which the oppressed workers and peasants of Latin America express their solidarity with the the working class of the United States and demand in huge demonstrations their national liberation from American imperialist domination. The same imperialist power that murdered Sacco and Vanzetti keeps under its iron heel the millions of down-trodden, starved workers and peasants in Latin America, particularly in the Caribbean region. The same imperialist exploiters of the American proletariat murder and jail the militant workers and deport the foreign-born (Mexicans, etc.)

Thus the struggles of the exploited workers of the United States are intimately linked up with those of the oppressed of Latin America. The combined and co-ordinated forces of the exploited in the metropolis of imperialism and in the subjected countries is the only guarantee for the final success of the world revolution. The workers of Latin America, under the leadership of the Communist Parties have already taken the first practical steps of bringing together the oppressed colonial peoples with the revolutionary proletariat in the capitalist country of the United States by setting aside August 23 as a day of struggle against imperialism. The thesis of the Second World Congress of the Communist International says:

> "The breaking up of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system. . . . Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and

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economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed."

The Anti-Imperialist Day of this year takes place in the midst of a revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed peoples in the Caribbean in an attempt to liberate themselves from the yoke of American imperialism.

The imperialists of the United States are trying to put the burden of the economic crisis upon the working class by intensifying their exploitation of the workers and robbing and expropriating the peasants of Latin America. Yankee imperialism is condemning 10,000,000 workers to want and starvation and is increasing its terror against the militant workers. The growing militancy of the workers throughout the United States is met by the capitalist government with lynching, jails and deportations. The death sentence for the 9 Negro young workers of Scottsboro, the determination to keep Mooney and Billings in jail for life, the mass and wholesale deportations of Mexican workers in the West and South of the United States, show the increased terror of the United States imperialism against the growing militancy of the workers and the struggle of the Negroes for complete equality.

In Latin America, the same imperialism is tightening its financial and military control, is condemning the starving workers and peasants to death. It keeps dictatorships in Cuba, Mexico, Santo Domingo, etc. It rules with an iron, military hand in Nicaragua and Haiti. The American government, acting in behalf of the rapacious Wall Street bankers, plantation owners, sugar barons and petroleum magnates, enslaves millions of workers, agricultural workers and peasants, uses forced labor and stifles with brutal and inquisitorial means the liberation movements in the Caribbean. It supports the national bourgeoisies and feudal landlords in their ruthless exploitation of the toiling masses and their counter-revolutionary suppression of the revolutionary class unions and the Communist parties.

August 23 of this year will take place in the midst of an armed struggle of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua and Honduras, a life and death struggle against the domination of Yankee imperialism and the native feudal lords. The revolutionary liberation movement in Nicaragua and Honduras has taken a new course this year. The armed forces under Sandino have been swelled with ruined peasants and unemployed workers from the Yankee lumber and fruit companies. Of tremendous importance is the coming to the forefront of the workers in Nicaragua and Honduras against the military control of the plantations and lumber camps.

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This lays the basis for the organization of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions in Nicaragua and imposes upon the Communists in Honduras the task of the independent leadership of the revolutionary struggles of the masses.

Within the National Guard, officered by American marines, great discontent is prevailing and signs of revolt of the lowest rank and file in refusing to shoot their brothers are clearly visible. The movement takes on considerable proportions extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts. The Washington government has answered the recrudescence of the armed struggle in Nicaragua with warships, more marines, machine guns and airplanes. In Honduras, the guerilla warfare in the surrounding districts of Tela, Progresso is going on for weeks. Workers and peasants from the United Fruit Co., Indians and detachments of workers from the cities are fighting against the Yankee government of Mejia Colindres. These liberation movements are as yet chiefly under the leadership of petty-bourgeois chieftains such as Sandino in Nicaragua and General Ferrera in Honduras. But the strengthening of the Communist movement in Honduras and the formation of the Communist Party in Nicaragua will raise the struggle in these countries to a higher level leading to the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution.

August 23rd of this year will find the masses of Cuba in huge protest against the Chadbourne Plan and the Yankee-Machado regime of terror and starvation. The Communist Party of Cuba is becoming more and more the leader of all oppressed. Under its leadership the workers are now organizing and fighting for unemployment relief, against the Emergency Law of Taxation and against the Guggenheim-Machado-Menocal peace pact. The leadership of the present daily struggles of the masses, especially against unemployment by the Communist Party will enable the Party to become the leader of the revolutionary fight for national liberation.

The Caribbean countries will greet this year the formation of the Communist Party of Venezuela which under the most difficult conditions of bloody terror of the tyrant Juan Vicente Gomez, has led unemployed demonstrations in Caracas.

The great strides made this year by the Communist Party of Colombia in cleansing itself of the corrupt and opportunist elements and its leadership in the independent strike struggles of the workers and plantation workers makes the Party the leader of uncompromising fight for national liberation.

These are some of the important events now taking place while

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the workers and peasants throughout Latin America are preparing the organization of the Anti-Imperialist Day.

But this day will not only be a day of struggle against imperialism. It will also be the day of struggle against the bourgeois offensive, against the fascist terror of the native governments maintained by Yankee imperialism. It will be the day of struggle against the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the reformist traitors who in Latin America are the bulwark and defenders of Yankee domination and oppression. The American Federation of Labor is working against the freedom of Mooney and Billings, is helping to railroad the 9 Negro young workers of Scottsboro to the electric chair. In the Caribbean, the Pan-American Federation of Labor (social fascists of the CROM) and the anarcho-syndicalists work hand in hand with the fascist governments, against the national liberation of these countries.

The revolutionary workers and particularly the Communists must rally the workers on the plantations, in the mines, oil fields, in the city and the countryside around the slogans of complete independence, against Yankee imperialism, the assassins of Sacco and Vanzetti, against the electrocution of the 9 Negro workers, for the solidarity of the oppressed of Latin America and the workers of the United States.

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Economic Forms in Southern Agriculture

By TOM JOHNSON

ONE of the crassest examples of opportunism in practice in the work of the Party is our indefensible neglect of systematic stubborn work to win the agricultural proletariat and the masses of poor and tenant farmers. A few quotations will show the importance attached to this problem by the greatest masters of revolutionary theory and practice.

> "The conquest of political power by the socialist parties has become a matter of the immediate future. In order to be able to capture political power the parties must go from the cities into the villages and become powerful in the rural districts, the larger the number of peasants we . . . bring over to our side . . . the more rapidly and easily will the social transformation be brought about."
>
> *The Peasant Question*—F. Engels.

> "Despairing of a Napoleonic restoration, the French peasant will also abandon faith in his plot of land and the whole social edifice based on peasant ownership will collapse. The proletarian revolution will obtain a chorus without which its solo must be a swan song in all peasant countries."
>
> *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*—Marx.

> "To think that the social revolution is possible . . . if no movement takes place among the non-class conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against landlord, monarchial and national oppression, means to renounce the social revolution." Lenin, in 1915.

The quotations speak for themselves—and yet, our Party has hardly made a beginning of serious work on the countryside. In the South, where this question is of peculiar importance, the spontaneous revolts of the farmers themselves (England, Ark., Georgia, etc.) brought this problem forcibly to our attention, but we have barely begun to scratch the surface in actual organization.

It is necessary first of all in any discussion of agriculture in the South, to lay bare the peculiar and specific conditions under which capitalism in agriculture has developed in this section. In the West and North capitalist agriculture developed in a virgin territory where there existed no appreciable survivals of early economic forms to hinder its free development along "pure" capitalist lines. In the South, on the contrary, capitalism in agriculture has developed and is still developing thru the penetration and subjection to capital of an earlier form of agricultural economy based on chattel slave labor.

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Slave or plantation economy is adapted to the production of a crop relatively simple to cultivate and gather and requiring a large application of labor for comparatively long intervals. Cotton is such a crop, and cotton was the chief crop of old slave plantations. In the deep South today cotton remains the one important commercial crop around which almost all agricultural production is centered. The production of other crops is carried on mainly for local consumption and subsidiary to the production of the "money crop"—cotton. In consequence, a poor harvest or sharp fall in the price of this one crop spells ruin for the southern farmer.

The social relations within the process of production have changed very little since slavery times. As Lenin stated in his article on American agriculture, "after 'liberating' the Negroes, it (the American bourgeoisie—T. J.) has resorted on the basis of 'free' republican-democratic capitalism, to every possible and impossible means to secure for itself the most shameless and despicable exploitation of the Negro." The economic basis for this unbridled exploitation of not only the Negroes of whom Lenin speaks, but of hundreds of thousands of white farmers as well, is the system of "share cropping." This is the new form of production developed following the Civil War out of the plantation system operated with chattel slave labor.

Above 60% of all farms in the southern cotton belt are operated by tenants. Of these, approximately 85% are other than cash tenants, that is, they pay a varying share of their crop to the landlord as rent. They are share croppers of one category or another. Far from declining with the further subjection of agriculture to the control of finance capital, share cropping as the principle form of tenancy is steadily increasing in the South, as the following figures show:

In a typical state, Alabama, the total number of farms declined from 1910 to 1925 from 262,901 to 237,631. The numbers of farms operated by owners declined from 103,929 to 92,948. The number of tenant-operated farms likewise declined from 158,326 to 144,235. The number of cash tenants—that is, those who pay their rent in money—declined from 83,360 to 42,303. On the other hand, while the total number of all other classes of farms declined, the number of farms operated by share croppers sharply rose in this period from 74,966 to 101,932. Substantially the same picture is given by the census statistics for the other Southern states. Thus, in Arkansas, the number of cash tenant farms from 1910 to 1920 fell from 30,405 to 9,078, while the number of share croppers rose from 76,861 to 116,821. In Mississippi, the num-

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bers of share croppers rose in the same period from 112,736 to 156,810, while all other classes of farms declined in number.

Not only are there divisions within the tenancy as a whole. There are also different categories among the share croppers. The lowest on the economic ladder is the cropper proper. The cropper goes to the landlord empty-handed. He has no control over the conditions of production. Seed, fertilizer, work animals, tools—all are supplied by the landlord. As the cropper is usually penniless at planting time, the landlord "carries him over" from planting time to fall when the crop is gathered; that is, the landlord furnishes the cropper with a specified amount of household supplies, food, etc., each month. The amount advanced varies from $12 to $25 per month, and is usually based on the acreage farmed by the cropper, at the rate of about $1 per acre. As a rule, advances of this character are not made in cash, and the cropper is forced to take his advances in supplies furnished at the plantation commissary at prices ranging 20 to 40% above prevailing retail prices. To these exorbitant prices it is customary for the plantation owner to add an interest charge of from 10 to 40%.

At the end of the year, when the crop is gathered, the landlord first takes half, partly as rent in kind, and partly to replace the capital invested in the tools, work animals, fertilizer, etc., which he has supplied the cropper and which have been used up in the production of the crop and next, enough of the crop to satisfy the advances he had made the cropper to tide him over from the time the crop is "pitched." The balance of the crop (if there is any balance) belongs in theory to the cropper; but as the cropper has no facilities for marketing his share of the crop, no place to store it if he wishes to wait for a better price, and as the landlord exercises considerable domination over him due to his economic status, in practice the landlord takes over the cropper's share as well as his own, and invariably at a price considerably under the market.

The border line between the cropper and farm laborer is frequently obscure. Most croppers piece out their meager income by hiring out as laborers to their own or neighborhood landlords during those periods of the year when "their own" crop needs least attention. Along the northern edge of the cotton belt where oppression is not so severe and the freedom of the white cropper to come and go as he chooses is greater, probably one-third of the croppers go into the towns and mills for work in the winter. The cropper does not work as an independent producer. He works under conditions of labor not his own. It is primarily this fact which distinguishes the status of the cropper from that of all other ten-

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ants. Marx has this to say of this form of tenancy, wherein the conditions of labor are entirely controlled by the landlord: "This requires conditions of personal independence, a lack of personal freedom, no matter to what extent, a bondage to the soil as its accessory, a serfdom in the strict meaning of the word." (*Capital*—Vol. III, page 918).

The cropping system is best adapted to fairly large plantations where a sufficient supply of capital is available to furnish all the requirements of production. Therefore, the bulk of the croppers are concentrated on the big plantations in the deep South. Although the large plantations are slowly breaking up, this process is not rapid. Mr. G. D. Woodson, an authority on agriculture, estimates that there are today not less than 40,000 plantations in the South with more than five croppers each.

Next in the economic scale is the share cropper. The share cropper supplies himself at least a part of the means of production. Conditions vary. As a rule, the cropper supplies his own tools and work animals, and in some cases a portion of the fertilizer and seed, the landlord furnishing the balance. Here the share cropper has relatively a greater independence and the control of the land owner is not so oppressive. Under this arrangement the share cropper usually pays one-third of the cotton crop and one-fourth of the grain crop as rent in kind. This form of tenancy is the dominant one above the northern border of the Black Belt where farms are smaller. There are scarcely ever more than two to five share croppers at most on the land of one landowner. Frequently small owners having not more than 40 to 80 acres rent out a portion of their land to a share cropper. In many instances the share cropper will be a friend or relative of the landowner. Here, therefore, the antagonism between landewner is not so great as on the big plantations manned by croppers. The share cropper, particularly if his landlord is a little fellow, often tends to identify his interest with those of his landlord, and to see a common enemy in the fertilizer merchant, supply merchant and local banks—in a word, in those who supply both him and his landlord on credit. Credit charges are terrific. A study made in 1928 of the Agricultural Department of the State of North Carolina, gives the average cost of credit to share croppers and small owners cultivating their own land in the cotton belt, as follows:

Cotton	19.1%
Fertilizer	36.1%
Household Supplies	71.2%
Average	50.5%

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Cash tenants, that is, those who pay their rent in money, form a relatively unimportant section of the Southern tenancy. In general their interests are the same as those of the share cropper.

The next and last important figure which we shall consider in Southern agriculture is the small owner operating a farm of from 40 to 100 acres with the aid of his family and without the employment of wage labor. Almost seven-eighths of all farm owners are white. The small owner is but little better off than the tenant. With no capital, constantly in debt, and with a heavy burden of taxation, he is only able to keep his farm and eke out a miserable existence by driving himself and all those of his family able to work in the fields, at top speed from sunrise to dark.

There are extremely few large capitalist farms in the cotton belt employing wage labor. In the deep South the plantation system offers effective barriers to the introduction of large scale mechanized farming. Along the northern edge of the cotton belt, the small farmer with no capital reserves is unable to utilize advanced technique, and is forced along with the cropper and share cropper to cultivate his little farm with the 8 inch plow and single mule. At the same time, the topography of the country itself in those areas where the small owner dominates, prevents effective utilization of tractors and other farm machinery.

In the last fifteen years, large scale cotton farming has developed with considerable rapidity in the southwest, opening up new territories for the production of cotton in Texas and Oklahoma. The degree of this development is indicated by the fact that the production of cotton in Texas has grown from 11,898,000 bales in 1920 to 17,872,000 in 1929. Oklahoma 2,749,000 bales in 1920, to 4,492,000 in 1929. In 1929, Texas alone produced approximately 45% of all cotton in the United States.

In view of the chronic agrarian crisis, and its intensification in the last two years by the industrial crisis, it is doubtful if large scale farming in the southwest will develop as rapidly in the future as it has in the past. Despite the relatively low cost of production on these large scale, highly mechanized farms employing wage labor, which allow them to produce cotton at a profit at prices which mean complete ruin for the cropper and small owner with his primitive technique and higher cost of production, it is doubtful if even those big farms can produce at a profit with cotton prices at their present low level. Nevertheless, the competition of these highly developed capitalist farms is today keenly felt by the cotton producers of the old South.

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The National Problem in the Soviet Union

By MEILACH EPSTEIN

TO the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is working in a land of many nationalities and varied races, the national problem is of no small importance. As early as its April conference in 1917, and further back, in fact at its third Congress, the Party had this question on its agenda.

From tsarism and capitalism the victorious proletariat inherited an empire built on oppression and blood, cowed by bayonets and swords, and ruled by the Russian *chinovnik* (bureaucratic official). The old Russia was notorious the world over for her brutal treatment of subjected peoples. They were robbed of all elementary rights, denied the use of their native tongue, and kept in a state of misery and ignorance.

POLICY OF RACIAL EQUALITY

The first step of the victorious proletariat towards solving the national problem was taken two days after the October Revolution. The Council of Peoples' Commissars issued on November 9, 1917, a decree proclaiming freedom and equality for all nations, races, and national minorities. The dominating position of the Russian language and culture maintained by tsarism as a means of oppression was done away with. Each race and nationality was to be drawn into the general task of reconstruction through the medium of self-government. The slogan of self-determination was applied to the maximum—complete separation, if the masses of a given national group so desired.

Thus the road was paved for every one of the numerous nationalities to organize its life according to its own wishes. Those nationalities where the toiling masses were successful in overthrowing the bourgeoisie have remained as parts of the new proletarian state. The others, where the bourgeoisie with the help of the social-fascists was able to retain power, have separated, like Poland. The Bolsheviki did not fire a single shot to force any national group to remain in the new proletarian state.

Five years later, this full equality found expression in the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The name "Rus-

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sia" was omitted. This reorganization was a logical step taken as a result of the growth of many of the formerly backward peoples. Five years of revolution did much to arouse their creative powers, and to raise them to a higher plane of life. A broader state structure was necessary for the inter-relationship of a large family of Soviet nations. Through the Union all these nationalities enjoyed to the fullest their self-government, at the same time contributing their utmost to the common task of building Socialism.

A UNION OF FEDERATIONS AND REPUBLICS

Since July, 1923, the great Soviet state has been a union of federations and republics. As the family is growing larger, more federations are being organized. There are now seven federations and numerous republics. The former Great Russia is but one—the largest—of the federated states in the Union. The various nationalities that are scattered among the 88,000,000 Great Russians have been organized into autonomous republics. The R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) is itself a body consisting of many national and racial groups. Some of them, the bigger groups and those occupying a larger area, have their own republics, e. g., the Tartars in Kazan, the Republic of Crimea. The smaller groups, including the national minorities, hardly occupying a considerable area, constitute autonomous republics or national districts, examples of which are the German Republic on the Volga, the Republic of Karelia near Finland, the Republic of the Tchuvash, and the national *rayons* of the Jews, Poles, Kalmuks and others. The Soviet Republic of Ukrainia, second in importance only to the R.S.F.S.R., embraces about 20 national groups recently formed into national districts and some even into autonomous republics.

The Party and the government are following with close attention each backward racial group, giving it every form of assistance toward its economic and cultural development from its primitive mode of life. The economic basis, of course, for such groups, is the upbuilding of industry and agriculture in backward regions where the most primitive methods of work have prevailed before.

The tremendous successes achieved by the Communist Party and the Soviet government in solving the complicated problem of races, nationalities, and national minorities has been universally recognized. Even its bitter enemies abroad can find no open road to attack the proletarian state for its national policy. They are forced to resort to different means. The bourgeoisie of a bigger nation, like the Ukrainian, masks its attack under the slogan, "Complete independence," while the Jewish bourgeoisie abroad rages against the

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so-called religious persecutions in the Soviet Union. But none of them can find the least opportunity for raising the cry of national oppression under proletarian dictatorship.

THE GREAT CHANGE

The limited space of this article does not permit an adequate account of this colossal achievement. Those who knew the old Russian empire, a prison for so many peoples, must rub their eyes in wonder at the great change. The Soviet Union is a voluntary family of toiling masses, spread over a vast territory in two continents. Race, color, and language, have for the first time in history ceased to be the dividing line between peoples. This is because a Soviet nationality is fundamentally different from a bourgeois nationality. A Soviet nationality is a community of workers and peasants, free from class-oppression and exploitation, while a bourgeois nationality signifies the dominance of capitalists and landowners.

The Communist Party took great pains to drive out all remnants of the "Great-Russian hegemony" idea still obtaining among the intelligentsia and even certain Party elements. There were racial groups without as much as a written language. Commissions of linguists have been busy since the revolution, evolving grammars for races in central Asia, far-away Siberia, and elsewhere. The printed grammar is the first step of development for the peoples kept for centuries in ignorance and superstition by the tsar. This process is not yet completed, so great is the number of racial and national groups—their total number is 187, speaking 149 languages and dialects.

A HARMONIOUS TRANS-CAUCASIA

Trans-Caucasia has been for years the battle-ground of races. It was boiling with national hatred. The tsars on one side of the mountain range, and the sultans on the other side, were busy serving the poisonous drinks of chauvinism and hate. The Georgians, Tartars, Armenians, Circassians, and the rest of the mountain tribes were constantly engaged in sanguinary struggles, spilling the blood of workers and peasants, who were forced to play the game of their imperialist oppressors.

The world can still remember the massacres of the Armenians on both sides of the border. The massacres were repeated regularly with the active help of tsarist agents. They served as a safety-valve for tsarist rule. What a tremendous change has taken place! Trans-Caucasia, formerly strife-torn and bleeding, is now a harmonious collective of Soviet life. In the federation of the

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Republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbajan (Turk-Tartars), the brotherly cooperation of the former enemies now finds expression. An Armenian may walk freely in a Tartar village and a Tartar will climb up into a Georgian mountain hamlet. The revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have worked nothing short of a miracle in this erstwhile cursed land.

In the great task of building Socialism and defending the revolution from its enemies, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, and the rest stand side by side.

One finds now such names as Turkestan, Tadjistan, Turkmenstan, Kazakstan, and Uzbekstan among the republics of the Soviet Union. They too possess national minorities, which in turn are formed into autonomous units and national districts.

To illustrate the tremendous cultural growth of these peoples it is sufficient to point out that industries are rising in far corners of the Union, where not a person has ever seen a machine before. In regions where feudal despotism reigned, a short 12 years ago, Socialist agriculture and industry are now developing at great speed. Tractors are plowing virgin soil in Turkmenia on the border of Afghanistan for the collective farms created among the nomadic tribes of the vast, far-away territory. Gigantic saw-mills have been erected in the primitive forests of Karelia in the North. The tractor and the saw-mill are followed by the workers club, education and higher plan of living. Through the speedy and successful realization of the Five-Year Plan a proletariat has come to life that has assumed leadership in the struggle for Socialism.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

In the phenomenal cultural revolution which is now taking place in the Soviet Union, the nationalities are playing no small role. Instead of dailies and periodicals with a circulation of 2,700,000, mostly in the Russian language, in the pre-revolution time, dailies and periodicals are now being published in 67 languages with a circulation of over 28,000,000. Out of that total, 51 languages are "children of the revolution," their very birth being the result of the October Revolution and the rule of the workers and peasants. Corresponding achievement is to be observed in the other fields of cultural life—higher learning, literature, the theater, and the arts.

It should not be imagined, however, that in solving the national problem the working class and its Leninist Party had smooth sailing. There were many deviations from the line of the Party. The old Russian intellectuals would resist and often misdirect or suppress the clear policy of the Party. Neither was that policy favored by

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the petty-bourgeois intellectuals of the newly-arisen nationalities. Especially has this two-fold opposition to the Bolshevik national policy become most marked in the last few years. There have been cases where the Party has had to deal severely with organized nationalistic groupings which penetrated even in Party ranks and which became a menace to the proletarian state. Suffice it to mention the group of Chumsky in Ukrainia and of Sultan-Galiev in Tartaria. Both brands of local nationalism created the "theory" of their respective national culture versus the Russian culture. They preached the necessity of putting up safe-guards to "protect" their young culture from the devouring old culture of Great Russia. The Party lost no time in liquidating these small groups of misled Communists.

On the other hand, numerous cases of Russian chauvinism among Party members were the cause of a vigorous campaign on the part of the Central Executive Committee. Russian chauvinism is, in fact, considered by the Party as a great danger at the present time.

PETTY BOURGEOIS COME TO GRIEF

Now we approach a most important point.

How did the expanded Socialist offensive along the whole front, the policy of liquidating the kulak as a class on the basis of solid collectivization, affect the national policy of the Party?

The class struggle in the Soviet Union has become more intense. The dying bourgeois classes are offering wild and vicious resistance to the stormy Socialist offensive. And in direct reflection of this resistance came, of course, the intensification of the above-mentioned Russian chauvinism and local nationalism.

A considerable part of the old Russian intelligentsia was for a long time full of hope that the development of the Soviet Union would proceed eventually along the lines of capitalist rebirth, accompanied with the idea of "one undivided Russia." The policy of the Party in the last two years has dealt a death-blow to these hopes. Many of the "smenovechovetzev" are now in the camp of the counter-revolutionists. They have had the opportunity to learn that the Bolsheviki will never re-establish the old Russia.

A similar disillusionment was in store for the petty-bourgeois nationalistic intelligentsia in the Ukraine, White Russia, Tartaria, Georgia, and Armenia. For a certain period these elements were full of hope that the Soviet Union would disintegrate into independent republics which would seek the road to capitalist democracy. To some of them it even looked as if the national policy of the Bolsheviki was itself leading that way. Now they know

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better. The reconstruction period does not weaken the relationships between the Soviet Republics, but on the contrary, strengthens them.

These bourgeois intellectuals are the leaders of local nationalism. Behind them is the nep-man in the city and the kulak in the village. Nationalism has become the cloak for all those who are fighting viciously the successful building of Socialist industry and the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Small wonder that this local nationalism is so actively supported and financed from across the Soviet border.

STRUGGLE AGAINST DEVIATIONS

As in every case, the outbreak of Russian chauvinism and local nationalism is bound to find some reflection even in the ranks of the Party.

In his report at the Sixteenth Party Congress (June, 1930) Comrade Stalin stressed the necessity of increasing the struggle against both deviations from the Party line on the national policy. Comrade Stalin said:

> "The picture of the struggle against deviations from the Party line would not be complete without mentioning the deviation from the national policy of the Party. I have in mind, first, the deviation towards Russian chauvinism and second, the deviation toward local nationalism. These deviations are not so marked as the 'left' and right wing deviations. You can call them crawling deviations. But this does not mean that they do not exist. They do exist, and what is more, they grow. There is no doubt about that. The general atmosphere of a sharpened class struggle cannot but lead to a certain sharpening of national differences, which find their reflection in the Party.
>
> "The Russian deviation consists of a tendency to oppose the abolition of Russian dominance in many sections of the Union, which are yet in a semi-backward state. These comrades venture as far as to quote Lenin by distorting his teaching. Lenin said that the demand for national culture is a bourgeois demand—under capitalism.
>
> "Lenin further said, that in a Socialist society all national lines would disappear, but this refers to a Socialist society, not in one country, but the world over. The comrades who resist the policy of developing the culture of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union in the name of internationalism are really working for forced assimilation. Instead of internationalization we have before us a masked Russian chauvinism and desire of dominance. The very fact of the growth of languages and culture under the dictatorship of the proletariat shows the mistakes of these comrades.
>
> "The deviation towards local nationalism is expressed in the tendency of separating oneself and remaining shut out behind the national wall. It expresses itself in the tendency to obliterate the

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class antagonism in the nation, in the effort to fight Russian chauvinism by withdrawing from the common task of building Socialism, in the tendency to overlook the ties that bind together nations of the Union, and to stress only those things which can divide them.

"The Russian deviation is a reflection of the struggle of the former ruling class in the tsarist empire. The local nationalism is a reflection of the fight of the bourgeois classes of the former oppressed people against the tremendous successes of Socialist construction."

To those Communists who find inconsistency in the national policy of the Party Comrade Stalin gave the following answer:

"The final aim of a Communist Party is the abolition of the state and establishment of a Communist society. Nevertheless, a great, mighty proletarian state has been built up under the leadership of the Party. Is there any inconsistency in that? Certainly not.

"Until the social revolution is successful in all countries, it is the duty of the Soviet working masses to go on building and strengthening their state. After the world revolution the state will outgrow its functions and will disappear.

"Similar is the case with the development of nationalities. The October Revolution called to life many, many languages. It stimulated the development of many cultures, Socialistic in content, and national in form. Only when Communism is established the world over, will nations disappear. The Communist society will create one common language.

"In the present transitory situation, when the proletariat is engaged in building Socialism, the correct Leninist policy is equal and full opportunities for all national and racial groups to develop their economic and social life through the medium of their language. Of course, the development must be in the spirit of proletarian solidarity and Communist ideology."

The Sixteenth Party Congress reaffirmed this policy. It instructed the C.C. to fight against both deviations from the Party line, stating at the same time that Russian nationalism is the greater danger at present.

WORLD-WIDE IMPORTANCE

The approach of the Party to the national problem was dictated solely by the interests of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement, specifically the revolution in the colonial countries.

The world-wide importance of the October Revolution was formulated by Comrade Stalin in the following:

"(1) It enlarged the scope of the national problem, transforming it from the specific question of the struggle against national oppression to the general question of liberating the colonial and semi-colonial peoples from the yoke of imperialism.

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"(2) It opened up wide possibilities and showed the correct way for the struggles. This to a considerable extent made it easier for the oppressed peoples of the West and East to attain their freedom, by drawing them into the general movement of victorious struggles against imperialism.

"(3) Through the October Revolution a bridge was thrown between the Socialist West and the oppressed East, thus creating a *new front of revolutions* between the proletariat of the West and oppressed peoples of the East against world imperialism." (Stalin, *The October Revolution and the National Question*, November, 1928.)

The Soviet Union stands today in the eyes of all oppressed nationalities the world over as the sole country which has radically solved the vexing problem of the relationship of nearly 200 nations and races. The very existence of the Soviet Union with its huge family of national and racial groups, all united in the common aim of building Socialism, is a source of inspiration to the struggling masses in the colonial countries and to the oppressed national minorities in eastern and southern Europe.

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The 100th Anniversary of the Nat Turner Revolt

By N. STEVENS

WHITE bourgeois historians often repeat the fiction that the Negroes were used as slaves because of their docile nature. Comparisons are made of them with the red Indians, pointing to the latter's fighting spirit in choosing annihilation in preference to slavery. This contrast is far from the truth. These bourgeois historians refuse to recognize historical facts and circumstances.

As a matter of fact American history is replete with Negro slave revolts. Furthermore, considering the conditions under which the Negroes were captured and brought to this country, the harshness with which they were received, and the atrocious treatment they were subjected to after they landed on these shores, it is remarkable indeed how these people were able to fight, as they did time and again, for their emancipation. Just consider the extent of the exploiters' brutality. Agents were sent to the coast of Africa to encourage and to plot tribal wars between the coastal inhabitants and the interior. The defeated interior tribes were captured and brought to the coast as slaves. Tens of thousands were also kidnapped for the same purpose. Those captured and kidnapped were chained to each other, and driven on foot for more than a thousand miles across the land to the coast. Many thousands died on the way from famine, thirst and exhaustion. Those who survived were then put on the slave ship. Ventilation on these ships was inadequate, clothing was limited, water was insufficient and the food was abominable. "The men on the 'slaver' were ironed in pairs by the ankles. Men and women were compelled to lie down on their backs on the deck with their feet outward, the irons on the men being usually fastened to the deck. The space between the decks was about 3 feet 10 inches high, and they were packed so close that a space of only 5 feet long and 16 inches wide was allowed to each slave. In these quarters they remained while the human cargo was being collected (3 to 6 months) and during the passage across the Atlantic (6 to 10 weeks)."[1] Thus for every slave finally imported to America, it is estimated that five more died on the way.

[1] E. L. Bogart, *The Economic History of the U. S.*

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When those who survived these hardships were finally brought to the plantations, they found themselves far away, in a totally unknown land and among hostile strangers, hungry, ragged, miserable, bewildered and helpless. Without much ado, they were immediately put to work, under a bestial overseer. Under the rule of the whip the slaves were forced to work from sunrise to sunset. "They were given quarters no better than the stables for animals and they were fed upon the coarsest food known to be given to human beings."[2] They had no rights and were entirely dependent on their masters.

To prevent any possibilities of revolt, the Negroes were forbidden to be abroad after nine o'clock in the evening, or to be entertained, or to gather in groups after that hour. For the least violation of these rules these people were punished in a most despicable and inhuman manner. Special acts legalizing barbarous punishments to the Negroes is recorded as early as the first decade of the 18th century. In the year 1711 South Carolina calls for a law of punishment that will be "more exemplary than any punishment that had been inflicted on them."[3] The reason given was, that these Negroes "are becoming insolent and mischievous."[4] Insolent and mischievous indeed! Quite often white overseers were found dead in the field while some of the slaves had run away to a nearby Indian tribe or even to the unknown wilderness, there perhaps to die of hunger and thirst, all in the hope of freeing themselves from the slave driver's torture.

During the early days of slavery, as well as in the later stages, the Negroes revolted time and again, notwithstanding all the cruelties, whipping and pillory that always followed such revolts. The Negro people displayed the greatest courage and determination in their fights for liberation.

The Nat Turner revolt was the twenty-seventh of the Negro rebellions recorded by our white bourgeois historians. About half of these revolts are reported to have occurred between the years 1728 and 1765. Many revolts are also reported aboard the slave ships, with quite a number of successes, such as the Creole and the Amistad ship revolts. But most of these revolts were, "for the good of all," not recorded by the white masters.

Under conditions described above, it is clear that large mass movements were very difficult, if not altogether impossible, yet in a number of revolts, the plot embraced large territories and thousands of slaves.

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[2] Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in American History.*
[3] Joshua Coffin, *Account of Principal Slave Insurrections.*
[4] Ibid.

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The white exploiters were eager and in fact attempted to enslave the red Indians in the same way as they did the Negroes. The Indians, however, were able to ward off the fate of the Negroes because, firstly, they were on their own soil; secondly, they had an independent economy, and thirdly, they had their organized tribes, who from the very outset gave battle to the whites, whenever the latter kidnapped any of their members. The Indians had some means of defense—poor as it was; while the Negroes were in a strange land, dependent upon the white masters for their crust of bread and without any form of organization. The white ruling class was finally victorious in even annihilating the incorrigible Indians because of their superior mode of production, and an organized armed force which enabled them to pit the rifle against the primitive bow and arrow.

Of the many slave rebellions the Nat Turner revolt, one hundred years ago (August 21, 1831), was the best planned and it excelled all the others in its conspiratory form. The leaders went about quietly and systematically organizing the masses. The following report may be an illustration of how they proceeded in their work. Nat Turner preached in North Carolina on the 14th of August. There many of the slaves who listened to him, signified their readiness to support him "by wearing around their necks red bandanna handkerchiefs, and who in many ways showed their rebellious spirit. This behavior, however, was not understood until after the insurrection."[5] It is evident even from the most prejudiced reports that the leaders of the revolt were devoted, self-secrificing, determined and courageous fighters for the cause of emancipation. Here is an answer given by a slave, known as Will, to Nat Turner's query why he joined the rebels, "My life is worth no more than theirs (the other rebels) and my liberty is as dear to me, and I shall obtain this or lose my life."[6] This correctly typifies their idealism and readiness to die for the cause. Notwithstanding the difficulties and the secrecy under which they had to work, they evidently met quite often and discussed their plans.

The revolt was originally set to begin on July 4 of the same year, but after noting the unusual arrangements and precautions taken in preparation for that year's Independence Day, the rebels changed their plan for a more opportune time. The month of August was then decided upon. In those days August was a month of quiet and jubilee. By August the cultivation of the crops was

[5] Drewry, *Slave Insurrections in Virginia.*

[6] Ibid.

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completed, and many of the white men would then be on their vacation, hunting of fiishing trips. During the month, all those slaves who had been industrious and obedient during the week would get the Saturday afternoon off as a holiday. The leaders, having chosen a quiet Sunday night for the beginning of the revolt, had been especially industrious and obedient during that week, a course which permitted them the Saturday afternoon off, thus enabling them to get together and perfect the last details of the plan.

The revolt started in Southampton, Virginia, and embraced almost the entire South. Due to some miscalculation, the revolt did not start in all the states simulaneously as planned. Prior to the Southampton outbreak and for some time thereafter, the entire South was seething with revolt. Reports of discontent and plots of revolts were uncovered in almost every state in the black belt. The country was thrown into a panic of wild excitement on Tuesday, the 23rd of August, when the news was flashed that "the slaves have risen." Indeed they had risen! The black belt was in the wildest confusion and turmoil; "fear was seen in every face, women pale and terror-stricken, children crying for protection, men fearful and full of foreboding."[7] On the second day of the rising, nearly 60 whites had been killed. The rebels went from plantation to plantation, killing off the whites, sparing none. They had traversed a distance of 30 miles without encountering the least resistance, except that of a single man. Nat Turner, the resolute, valiant and skillful leader of this uprising, placed the best armed and most trusted men in the lead, with orders to approach the houses as fast as they could ride, so as to prevent any one from escaping who might spread the alarm. At each plantation the army of rebels increased. The slaves at each plantation visited, helped to dispatch the whites, and then either joined the army, or were left to be in charge of the plantation. Not only the leaders but all those who joined the march later, displayed the greatest courage, determination and conspiratory discipline. They were, however, very poorly armed, there being but few rifles to go around. Fowling pieces loaded with bird shot were the general weapons. There was a terrible shortage of ammunition, to the extent that even at the very first encounter with the organized white militia, the rebels were forced to use gravel for shot. The plantationists, however, though frightened and demoralized, soon had the well armed and equipped militia and the federal regular army at ther disposal.

The rebels planned to reach Jerusalem—the county seat—where they had expected reinforcement in men and ammunition. But

[7] Ibid.

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about three miles from Jerusalem they encountered the first armed resistance. In this encounter the whites were beaten and forced to retreat. The rebels pursued them for about 200 yards. There the whites obtained reinforcements. A severe battle took place, at which several of the Negroes were killed and many wounded. Realizing the enemy's superior force, and being short of ammunition, the rebels decided to retreat, and to go by a private road to Jerusalem and attack it from the rear. Nat Turner quickly rallied his forces and proceeded along the private road. In order to reach Jerusalem by this road, they had to cross a bridge. The scouts reported that this bridge was well guarded. But Nat was not discouraged. He raised more forces and was determined to proceed. On the 23rd, however, they encountered an attack by cavalry from Greenville. The rebels were beaten and scattered. Nat made another attempt to rally his forces, but by this time the militia and the federal troops were in full control. The cavalry became particularly active in routing and killing off all suspects. By Thursday, the 25th, Nat Turner realized that the situation was hopeless. Further resistance would be useless for the present, so he called a halt for the time being. After the dispersal of his forces, Nat Turner dug a hole under a pile of fence rails in the field and concealed himself in it. There he lay for eight weeks, never venturing out except in the dead of night. He was accidentally discovered by a dog that entered the cave at night and dragged out some meat. The dog on seeing Turner near the cave, began to bark. Fearing that he would thus be discovered, Nat escaped from that hiding place. For the next fortnight he had many narrow escapes. He was eager to get out of the country, but as he could travel only at night and the patrols were very vigilant, he found escape impossible. He continued to roam from place to place, the chief means of concealment being a fodder-stack. During this long period of hiding, he undoubtedly received food and other aid in secret from the Negroes in the neighborhood, which is another attestation to the courage and conspiratory experiences of the Negroes. In the meantime the whites kept a strict vigil, and searched for him high and low. Parties were organized to go through the woods hunting for him. Prizes were set for his capture. On October the 30th one of these hunting parties finally discovered and captured him.

The merciless revenge that followed the defeat of the rebels is indescribable. Every slave in the territory affected was of course suspected, and many were shot in cold blood. General Eppes in an official report stated that "many Negroes were shot at sight, without even knowing who they were." Were it not for the fact that shooting of slaves without a legal trial, meant a loss of so

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many dollars to the white masters, many more Negroes would have been killed as a warning and in revenge. As it was, many of those taken as prisoners by the troops were beheaded. "The heads of these Negroes were stuck up on poles, and for weeks their grinning skulls remained a warning to those who should undertake a similar plot. With the same purpose the captain of the marines as they marched through Vicksville on the way home, bore upon his sword the head of a rebel." [8]

Nat Turner, of course, suffered most. On his capture, Sunday, October 30, ten weeks after the uprising began, he was tortured with pin pricks and brutally whipped, rolled down hill in a barrel, led around from house to house, insult and injury heaped upon him aplenty. The drunken guards knew no mercy. The next day they conveyed him to Jerusalem. Along the rout, he was tormented and cruelly mishandled by the "curious" spectators.

On the 11th of November the Negro leader was finally hanged. His body was handed over by the sons of this liberty-loving country to the doctors, "who skinned it and made grease of the flesh," if we can believe a report of the time. Out of his hide, it was said, they made money purses. It is not unlikely that a grandson of one of these highly cultured Southern "gentlemen" still retains one of these purses as a token, and undoubtedly treasures it with great pride.

Of the 53 Negroes arraigned for trial, 17 were executed and 12 transported. Among those executed were one woman slave and three free Negroes.

On the day of his execution Nat Turner was but a little over 31 years of age. While all of his movements were secret, it is nevertheless pretty evident that as early as the year 1825 he was already involved in the plan of revolt. He was born a slave on October 2, 1800, five days before the execution of another great revolutionist, Gabriel Prosser, who in August of that year had attempted to lead his people in a similar unsuccessful revolt against slavery. From his very childhood Nat showed great mental ability, and was very observant of everything about him. His parents were quite intelligent. They inspired him from early childhood with the need of emancipation. His father ran away when Nat was a mere boy and never was recaptured. His mother too was rebellious and never accepted her state of slavery as a matter of course. As Nat grew older he became more inquisitive in search of knowledge. He lived a great deal in seclusion and spent much time in the woods by himself, where he studied and developed a wide information, especially in the science of astronomy. He experimented a good deal in cast-

[8] Ibid.

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ing different things into molds of earth, and tried to make paper, gunpowder and many other things. He became a preacher, perhaps more because of the privileges it gave which helped him to organize the revolt, than because of his belief. The white bourgeois historians refer to him as a "fanatic," but he was no more fanatic than Sandino or the Chinese Communists are bandits. He was clear-headed, calm, intelligent and a courageous revolutionist. When he could no longer bear the plight of slavery he ran away, but returned after 30 days, realizing that as a runaway he could not be as affective in the preparation for the revolt. Even the bourgeois historian, Drewry, admits "the insurrection was not instigated by motives of revenge or sudden anger, but was the result of long deliberation and a settled purpose of mind."

A serious shortcoming of the revolt was the lack of political perspective. The rebels set out to emancipate the slaves by killing off all the whites. They had, however, no plan or program, except to rid themselves of their despicable enemies. A wider perspective was necessary. It was important, at the very outset of the rebellion, to declare for the confiscation of the great plantations and for the division of the land among the Negro masses. Then again the rebellion had to face not only the Southern plantationists, but also the entire organized *American state with its armed forces* and the economic machine. The American ruling class was well organized and consolidated. They had full control. It had not yet become possible at that time for a slave revolution to secure the aid and unity of the working class and the poor tenant farmers, not only in the South, but the North as well. Furthermore, apart from individual leadership, there was no centralized party. Without a strong well-organized and centralized party, there can be no successful revolution. In view of all these fundamental shortcomings and considering the brutal system of oppression the Negroes were subjected to, and the absolute lack of freedom, it is indeed remarkable, and to the credit of the Negro masses, that this revolt was extended—according to the Reverend Lorenzo Dow—"from the state of Delaware to the Gulf of Mexico."

In view of the vastness of the plot and its systematic development, some white historians are trying to place white men behind it. But from all the facts it is clear that not only were there no whites involved in the plot, but there were but few free Negroes involved in it. It was the work of the slaves themselves. The great significance of this revolt lies in the very fact that it was not limited to the few leaders, but was a broad mass movement.

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First Congress of the Communist Party of Philippines

By S. CARPIO (*Manila*)

A NEW IMPORTANT SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN FAR EAST

ON May 9-10 there took place in Manila, P. I., the First Congress of the Communist Party of the Philippines. There were present 40 delegates from 13 different provinces. The Congress lasted two days, and had to be held secretly. As a result the Communist Party of Philippine Islands is definitely and formally constituted and launched as the only revolutionary Party of the workers and peasants of the Philippines.

One of the resolutions adopted by this First Congress reads:

> "The First Congress of the C.P.P.I. fully and unconditionally accepts and approves the Program and Statutes of the Communist International (as adopted by the VI World Congress of the C.I.) and herewith makes application to the C.I. for admission as a regular Section of the Communist International. The C.P.P.I. expresses its hope and desire that the C.I. will help the young C.P.P.I. with advice and guidance based on the rich experiences of the world revolutionary movement led by the Communist International—the General Staff of the World Revolution."

After honoring the memory of Comrade Ora, recently deceased member of the Provisional C. C. of the Party, a presidium was elected into which the following were elected as honorary members: Joseph Stalin (U. S. S. R.), Ernst Thaelmann (C. P. Germany), Hsiang-Chun-Fa (C. P. China), and William Z. Foster (C. P. U. S. A.).

The main reports on the agenda were: (1) Report on the Present Situation and the Tasks of the C. P. P. I.; (2) Report on the Trade Union Movement and Tasks of the C. P. in the Trade Union movement; (3) Report on the Peasants' Movement and Tasks of the C. P. in the Peasants' Movement; (4) Report on the Youth Movement and the Tasks of the Y. C. L.

The first and politically most important document adopted by the Congress was a Manifesto addressed by the Congress to all workers, peasants and toilers of the Philippine Islands. There were also adopted four comprehensive resolutions on the four main reports. Special resolutions were adopted on the following ques-

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tions: In Defense of Soviet Russia; Declaration of Solidarity with the Revolutionary Movements in China, India, and other Colonial and semi-Colonial Countries; Resolution of Greetings and Solidarity with American Proletariat; Resolution on Admission as a Section into the Communist International; Resolution on the Draft Program of the C. P. P. I.; Resolution on the White Terror in the P. I.; Special Resolution on Membership of Communists in Secret Societies and Masonic Lodges; Resolution on the Policy of C. P. P. I. in the Coming General Elections.

Telegrams of greetings were received and read from the Communist Parties of U. S. A., China, and Germany. A special telegram of greeting was adopted by the Congress addressed to the C. P. of the U. S. S. R., ". . . the organizer and leader of the Russian Revolution, the model Bolshevik Section in the C. I., the most consistent and uncompromising fighter for Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the unvanquishable vanguard of the victorious Russian proletariat in the building of socialism and in the defense of the U. S. S. R.—the only Fatherland of the international proletariat and of all oppressed peoples, against capitalism and imperialism. . . ."

* * * *

The First Congress of the C. P. P. I. is the consummation of a comparatively short period of preparation for the launching of the Party. It was on November 7 last, on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, that the formation of the C. P. of P. I. was acclaimed publicly at a huge mass meeting and demonstration on one of the squares of Manila. A Draft Platform of the C. P. P. I. drawn up by the Provisional C. C. of the Party was then circulated, read publicly, and carried by acclamation.

But these were only the first steps. The months that followed were not only months of feverish activity and preparation, but were rich in struggles of the worker and peasant masses and in events of great political significance. This explains the great popularity of the young C. P. among the masses and the considerable progress made by the Communist movement in the P. I. in such a short period. Unmistakable signs of the popularity of the Communist Party in the P. I. are such facts as the mass circulation of 10,000 copies of the central organ of the C. P., which is less than three months old, and which is eagerly sought and read, not only in Manila, but throughout the Islands. Another indication of the mobilizing capacity of the young C. P. was the huge demonstration of 30,000 in Manila with red flags (despite police ban) and slogans calling for soviets of workers and peasants. This was organized and led by the C. P. on the occasion of Comrade Ora's funeral.

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The outstanding event of this period in the P. I. was the armed peasant uprising in Tayug (Pangasinan) early this year. This so-called Colorum uprising ("Colorum" refers to the religious sect to which the rebellious peasants are supposed to belong) was simply an armed revolt of frightfully oppressed and exploited poor peasants and tenants against the landlords, usurers, and especially against the land grabbers. This peasant uprising was not an isolated case. During the past year or two there have been sporadic outbreaks and armed peasant revolts in the provinces of Rizal, Bulakan, Tarloe, and elsewhere. These peasant uprisings give the clue to the agrarian problem in the P. I. The agrarian revolution is the most decisive factor in the present stage of the revolutionary movement in the P. I.

The Tayug peasant uprising in January, coupled with serious struggles of the workers in Negros and Iloilo, and to some extent in Manila, and coinciding with the very active recruiting campaign of the C. P., which was then only in the process of formation, naturally roused the native landlords, bourgeoisie, and the American imperialists to a pitch of fury and undisguised fear. The class vengeance of the bourgeoisie was quick and direct. The peasant uprising which lacked a definite and clearly defined revolutionary program and leadership, and which was completely isolated and out of touch with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat (a fact and serious fault for which the First Party Congress criticized both the Party and the Peasants' Confederation), was crushed in blood by the imperialist and native military and police forces. The trial and summary conviction of 64 of the most active peasants of this armed revolt were rushed through quickly. Several life-term sentences, and an aggregate of several hundred years of imprisonment, including the conviction of children under 16 who participated in the uprising—this was the answer of the class enemy.

But that was not all. The imperialists and the bourgeoisie, aided by the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, were and are determined to crush the young Communist movement and the revolutionary trade unions under the Proletarian Labor Congress (affiliated with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat). Similarly their energies of suppression were centered on crushing the revolutionary Peasants' Confederation. The whole machinery of "American Democracy" was set into motion. All meetings and demonstrations were banned, not only those called by the Communist Party, but even those called by the trade unions or the Peasants Confederation—reformist organizations of course excepted. The use of the Red Flag, of the sickle and hammer and such revolutionary slogans as had scared the bourgeoisie and imperialists in that unprecedented demonstration of

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30,000 workers and peasants in Manila, were declared taboo, and strict instructions issued to the constabularly and police throughout the provinces. In Manila, there were issued and distributed, together with these instructions, tear gas bombs and riot guns. Over twenty leading and most active comrades were arrested and charged with sedition.

The registration of Communist candidates for the coming general election was hindered and sabotaged and in some instances refused. (This is the first time the workers and peasants have put up their own class candidates in the Philippine Islands on a Communist ticket). Then the authorities announced that no matter whether registered or not, no Communist candidate, even though elected, would be allowed to take up his post. Then came the breaking up of the May First demonstration, and the arrest and prosecution of many comrades, including about a dozen Chinese workers who are members of the Chinese Labor Federation of the Philippine Islands, a revolutionary body affiliated with our Proletarian Labor Congress. There followed the announcement and threat from the highest authorities (Governor-General Davis at the head) to the effect that over 400 Chinese workers would be deported for their "communist sympathies and seditious activities."

Such were the general circumstances under which the First Congress of the C. P. P. I. took place, and that is why it was held illegally.

* * * *

Now a few words on the general economic and political situation in Philippine Islands. The Philippines have in the course of the past three decades been reduced to a typical colonial possession. They are the military and naval outposts of American imperialism in the Pacific. The U.S.A. held in 1930 no less than 72% of the total trade of the Islands, amounting in 1930 to 512,529,000 pesos.* The U. S. A. supplied 64% of all the imports into the Philippines in 1930. Exports of Philippine products to the U.S.A. last year accounted for 79% of the total Philippine export trade. The financial, economic and credit policies of American imperialism involve the stifling of every effort to industrialize the Philippine Islands, and the expanding and intensifying of the agricultural character of Philippine economic life. Such was the message that Governor-General Davis brought back from the extensive and expensive "good-will" tour which he recently made with a retinue of Filipino officials and agents who have nothing to add except "Amen." Oh yes, the Governor-General brought back another significant mes-

*A peso equals 50 cents in U. S. currency.

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sage: "The workers and peasants of the Philippines are the best off in the whole orient," and, "more work and greater production are needed."

At the same time there are at least 50,000 unemployed workers in the various industries; a general lowering of working and living standards during the past year or two; the most brutal and ruthless exploitation of the millions of poor peasants by the landlords, the Friar Estates, the usurers and the land-grabbers; while the most elementary rights and gains of the workers are being restricted and abolished. The right to organize, and "freedom" of speech, press and assembly are rapidly approaching the Chiang-Kai-Shek standard; and the riot-gun, the tear gas bomb, and the Iron Heel are rapidly coming into their own.

And politically? For all these decades, and until the birth of the Communist Party, the workers and peasants of the Philippine Islands have had absolutely no class political organization of their own, no political expression as a class. For decades they have been in the tow of the political parties of the landlords and native exploiters and blood-suckers. This despite the fact that it was the mass of workers and poor peasants who paid with their blood for the war of liberation fought against the Spanish oppressors which was sold by our "national heroes" and generals for several hundred thousand pesos to Primo de Rivera; and the further fact that it was the same workers and poor peasants who paid with their blood for the three-year war that followed against American imperialism.

There are three political parties of the bourgeoisie and landlords which, in one combination or another, have dominated the field all this time, misleading and fooling the workers and peasant masses, and preventing them from independent class political action—*the Nacionalista, Democrata, and Radical parties.* The most important and most characteristic fact about these parties and about the "national" bourgeoisie in the Philippine Islands today is the fact that *not one of the bourgeois parties, not one of the bourgeois-landlord-nationalist groups actually demands or fights for the immediate, complete and unconditional independence of the Philippines.* The bourgeois-nationalist politicians have even stopped using these phrases except perhaps in election campaigns. Speaker Roxas who last year brought into existence the so-called "Ang Bagong Katipunan" ("neo-Nationalism") inspired and dictated by electioneering interests of the Nacionalista Party, has nothing more important to offer than the demand for "a better diet," "more sports and physical culture," in order to become "deserving of independence." In the present election campaign, all the bourgeois parties have nothing more radical to offer for the emancipation of the Philippine Islands than

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"wider streets," or "better mail systems," "development of agriculture," etc. And—to give a truly Homeric example—at the so-called *"First Independence Congress"* held in Manila in February, 1930, where the cream of Philippine Nationalism was gathered, the Honorable Rafael Alunan, Secretary of Agriculture and National Resources, delivered an address which is nothing less than an anti-nationalist, anti-independence, pro-imperialist document. He declared and warned:

> "The danger is to be feared on account of the insistence of the general run of our people to consider Independence as an exclusively Philippine problem. But Independence is a Philippine-American problem, whether it suits us or not, and only that solution of the problem has a chance to prosper which is satisfactory to both Filipinos and Americans. . . . We are bound to the U. S. by two ties: political and economic. The political tie is defined in the Jones Law, and the economic tie is established by the Customs Tariff Act through which we have free trade with the United States. . . . If the free trade which we now have were to be suddenly abolished one of these days, the economic life of our country would suffer a disturbance and impairment that would make itself felt in all phases of our collective and individual life. . . . The standard of living in the Philippine Islands would go back to what it was in the first years of the American occupation. In case of independence —our per capita income would decrease considerably (!!!) . . . Filipinos as well as Americans—are entitled to protect their interests and the interests of our country in general against the deplorable consequences of improvidence and precipitate action. If the Philippine Islands are to be independent . . . we must strive to have them independent with honor, glory and benefit (read: Profits S. C.) for all! . . .

Now, how is that for classical bourgeois nationalism, as expressed in one of the main addresses of an "Independence" Congress?

But if the experience of the international revolutionary movement in the various bourgeois-nationalist and anti-imperialist movements have perhaps made us blase against this Philippine brand of bourgeois-nationalism, which after all runs true to type, then it will surely be of interest to know and hear what the national-reformists in the Labor Camp think of the struggle for independence. On May First of this year, while the police and constabulary were breaking up our demonstration of thousands of workers and peasants in Manila and in the provinces, the reactionary trade union bureaucrats of the so-called C.O.F., (Congress Obrero Filipinas—which split the trade union movement because of the decision by the overwhelming majority in 1928 to join the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat), at their annual luncheon which they call the Convention of the C.O.F. formally and solemnly announced the formation of *"Union Socialista,"* a sort of Social-Democratic Party, the openly

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and officially announced aim of this organization is "to prevent here the propagation of subversive communist ideas." And the official platform of this new little political bastard reads: "Keep faith in God and in the independence of the people of the P.I. which sooner or later can be obtained through proper development of her natural resources." It is really difficult to imagine a more perfect echo and reflection of outright imperialist and capitalist-landlord colonial propaganda parading under the cloak of "Socialism" and intended to fool and blind the workers and peasants of the P. I. and to "save them from Communism."

* * * *

It is against this colorful background that we have to judge the First Congress of the C.P.P.I. and examine more closely some of its important decisions and resolutions. The following brief excerpts from the Manifesto and from the main resolutions reveal that the young but energetic Communist movement in the P.I. has grasped fairly well the fundamental elements of Communism and that with the help of the C.I. it should be able to apply these concretely to the situation and the problems and tasks in the P.I.

In the *Manifesto*:—

> "with the birth of the C.P., the workers and peasants of the P. I. enter a new and higher phase of political development and activity. . . . The guiding principle of the C.P. is Class Struggle, uncompromising, unyielding and unceasing class war, as opposed to all reformist and national reformist and social-democratic policies of class collaboration, class peace, industrial peace and the like. . . . The C.P.P.I. is the only political party of the working class, of the exploited masses of workers and peasants. . . .The C.P. is not bound or restricted in scope or character by any chauvinistic, nationalistic, racial or any other boundaries or prejudices. The C.P. is an organic, integral part of the only international, world-wide proletarian revolutionary Party — the Communist International, which is the General Staff of the World Revolution. The C.P. accepts unconditionally and carries out the program and policies of the C.I. The C.P. knows only one discipline, and that is the discipline of the international proletariat (and not of "its own" national bourgeoisie or "Fatherland." The organization of a C.P. in the P.I. is long overdue. While hardly a capitalist, colonial or semi-colonial country on this earth is without a C.P.; while in India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, Korea, Formosa, etc., the C.P. has led and is leading heroic struggles of the toiling masses against imperialism, capitalism and feudalism; and while in China, under the leadership of the C.P. and C.I. the major portions of some of the most important provinces in Central and South China with over 20 million population are already constituted as Soviet governments,—the workers and peasants of the P.I. have until now had no political party of their own, laboring under the double yoke of for-

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> eign imperialism on the one hand, and native landlordism and capitalism on the other, the workers and peasants of the P.I. have on the political field been exploited, fooled and betrayed for many decades by the agents and henchmen of the imperialists and of the native exploiters and bloodsuckers. . . . The workers and peasants of the P.I. have had enough of delusion and political charlatanerie and outright treachery. . . . We have had enough of cacique politicos and demagogue political clowns who have fooled and sold the toiling masses, paralyzing their self-expression as a class for so many decades. We have had enough of the puppets and traveling salesmen of American imperialism and Filipino capitalism and landlordism—of the Roxas, Quezon, Osmena type, who have sold out the movement and struggle for immediate complete and unconditional independence for a larger share in the profits derived from more intense and joint exploitation of our workers and peasants!" . . .

The Manifesto points out that the central ultimate aim of the C.P. is "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Social Revolution—which alone is capable and historically destined to crush, uproot and finally exterminate the capitalist-landlord system and to free the masses of workers and peasants from exploitation and to do away with classes in society." . . . It further points out that "in the present bourgeois-democratic stage of the Philippine revolution our immediate central aims are: (1) complete liberation and independence of P.I. from imperialist domination and control and (2) carrying out the agrarian revolution, and (3) radical improvement of working and living conditions of the proletarian masses." In the central platform contained in the Manifesto, are the following main points: Overthrow of the rule of American imperialism, of the native capitalists and exploiters and landlords and usurers and landgrabbers; the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government in P.I., based on the Soviets, which are the workers' and peasants' own organs of government; the immediate, complete and unconditional independence (removal of all military and naval forces of the imperialists); repudiation (annulment) of all state debts; nationalization of the large enterprises owned by the imperialists (industrial, transport, banking, plantation, etc.); confiscation — without compensation—of the landlords' estates and of all church and monastic lands and the distribution of the land equally among the poor peasants and agricultural laborers; the establishment of the 7-hour day, abolition of child labor, etc. There follow special demands for Social Insurance, agricultural laborers, poor peasants and tenants, etc.

> ". . . . The Party bases its activities and struggles for these aims on well-prepared and organized mass actions of the workers and peasants, and not opportunism. . . . The Party has its roots and its

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> strength in the places and enterprises where the masses of workers and peasants are: in the shops, factories, mines, mills, plantations and villages. . . . The Party strives to win over under its influence the majority of its own class—including women and youth."

In the Resolution on Defense of the U.S.S.R.:

> "The first word, the first thought of the First Congress of C.P.P.I. goes to the defense of the U.S.S.R. . . . In case of imperialist war or imperialist intervention against the U.S.S.R., the C.P.P.I. shall be guided by the only policy worthy of Communists: transform the imperialist war into a war of class against class." . . .

Speaking of the recent anti-Soviet campaign and referring to the trials of the Industrial Party and menshevik counter-revolutionaries, the resolution points out:

> ". . . no better than we, the exploited masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, show better the true significance and reality of forced labor and slavery under imperialism and capitalism! (It then proceeds to cite the concrete examples of the forced labor in the Philippines, in French Indo-China, under French Socialists, in Indonesia—under Dutch Socialists, in Hongkong and Malaya and Africa—under British "Socialists."

In the resolution of solidarity with the Chinese and Indian revolutions, we read:

> "The existence and growth and development of Soviet China, the heroic achievements of the workers and peasants' Red Army in China—serve as a mighty inspiration to the tens of millions of exploited toilers in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Your experience and example, together with the experience of the victorious Russian Revolution, are the best living proofs that no white terror, no suppressions, no persecutions and no executions by the imperialists and native exploiters and reaction can stay the forward march of the Revolution—if only it is well prepared and led by the C.P. the vanguard of the proletariat, on the basis of the C.I. and only if it is rooted deeply in the masses of workers and peasants. . . ."

Speaking of Ghandism in the Indian Revolution, this Resolution says:

> ". . . Ghandism, in all its ugly and rotten nakedness, stands exposed before the Indian workers and peasants and before the toiling masses of the whole world—as an expression of national-reformist treachery. Ghandism and Chiang-Kai-Shekism are on a par!"

In the resolution of greetings to the American proletariat the need for a united revolutionary front in the struggle against American Imperialism is emphasized.

A very important decision of the Congress was the one dealing

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with Secret Societies, a problem of political importance in the Philippines, because of the prevalence of many secret societies controlled and financed by the landlords and cacique-politicos, and which by means of demagogic phrases and by exploiting the misery of the poor peasantry and workers often succeed in wielding considerable political influence among certain sections of the workers and peasants. Hence the necessity of a special resolution, in which the First C.P. Congress makes it clear that—"membership or activities or organizational connections with or in any secret society, Masonic lodge, or any other political party or political or quasi-political organization is absolutely incompatible with membership in the C.P.P.I." . . . The Congress instructed the C.C.—

> "to explain to the workers and peasants and members of the Party the detrimental role of all secret-societies and Masonic organizations in relation to our movement, and exposing them for what they are—the tools and weapons of our class enemies for disorganizing and disarming and misleading the workers and peasants from the path of revolutionary class action." . . .

In the resolution against the White Terror, the Congress declares:—

> ". . . . No force, no power, no imperialist-capitalist combination can or will stop the activities of the C.P.P.I.—the only party of the working class! For every comrade condemned by the bourgeois court—let 1,000 of the best and most class-conscious, the bravest and most loyal revolutionary workers and peasants join the C. P.! For every arrested or prosecuted revolutionary trade union or peasant leader—let 10,000 workers and peasants join the revolutionary trade unions and peasants' confederation. . . ."

In the resolution dealing with the role and tasks of the C.P. in the parliamentary elections (we are in the midst of our first parliamentary experience as a C.P. right now), the fundamental differences between bourgeois parliamentarianism and electioneering on the one hand, and our participation in elections and in the bourgeois parliaments is pointed out. This is very important at this moment in our country, because in the P.I. we have a rotten tradition of imported American-Tammany politics which has had as paralyzing and destructive an influence among large sections of the working class as in the United States proper; also because this is the first parliamentary experience for all of us in the P.I. as Communists. In this Resolution, it is emphasized that only a Soviet Government of the workers and peasants themselves will be able to solve our fundamental class problems; at the same time it is explained why the revolutionary C.P. participates and takes advantage of elections and bourgeois parliaments.

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Space does not permit us to review the four main and fairly comprehensive Resolutions dealing with the tasks in the *Trade Unions, Peasant Movement, Youth* and of *the Party*. We shall mention, however, that these resolutions deal very concretely and in a spirit of self-criticism with the weaknesses and mistakes found in the Party, the Proletarian Labor Congress and our Peasants' Confederation.

One of the most important points emphasized in the Political Resolution dealing with the Party is that warning against the danger of legalism and right opportunism, as the greatest danger at this time. This warning is based on and supported by concrete facts and incidents already gathered during the brief childhood of the C.P. of P.I.

In conclusion, just one point. The objective situation in the P.I., which makes for the rapid development of the C.P. and revolutionary movement in this country, and the circumstances that our Party is extremely young and inexperienced—coupled with the ruthlessness of the iron heel of American Imperialism and native reaction, makes it imperative that the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. A. devote especial attention and give tangible and practical guidance to this sector of the international revolutionary front.

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Lenin on Economic and Political Struggle of the Working Class

At the present time, when the Party is making the beginning of its turn from the former gross underestimation of trade union work, and is getting results in the field of the economic struggles of the workers, the danger of swinging to the other extreme must be guarded against. Under the pressure of the many demands being made upon our limited forces by the economic struggles, we may not be so alert to the need for carrying on the political struggle, and for raising the political consciousness of the workers. Therefore, the following excerpts from Lenin's famous pamphlet "What Is to Be Done?" are particularly timely.

The quotations are fro mthe authorized translations of "Lenin's Collected Works," published by the International Publishers, Vol. IV, The Iskra Period, Book II. All references to Social Democrats must, of course, be here interpreted as references to Bolsheviks.

EDITOR.

* * * *

*Lenin is polemisizing against the Economists of the pre-*1905 *period, and particularly against Martynov's conception of restricting the political activities of the workers to merely "giving the economic struggle itself a political character."* (p. 153.)

THE demand "to give the economic struggle itself a political character" most strikingly expresses *subservience to spontaneity* in the sphere of political activity. Very often the economic struggle *spontaneously* assumes a political character, that is to say without the injection of the "revolutionary bacilli of the intelligentsia," without the intervention of the class-conscious Social Democrats. For example, the economic struggle of the British workers assumed a political character without the intervention of the Socialists. The tasks of the Social Democrats, however, are not exhausted by political agitation on the economic field; their task is to *convert* trade-union politics into the Social-Democratic political struggle, to *utilize* the flashes of political consciousness which gleam in the minds of the workers during their economic struggles for the purpose of *raising* them to the level of *Social Democratic* political consciousness. The Martynovs, however, instead of raising and stimulating the spontaneously awakening political consciousness of the workers, *bow down before spontaneity* and repeat over and over again, until one is sick and tired of hearing it, that the economic struggles "stimulates" in the workers' minds thoughts about their own lack of

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political rights. It is unfortunate, gentlemen, that the spontaneously awakening trade-union political consciousness does not "*stimulate*" in your minds thoughts about your Social-Democratic tasks!

* * * *

On the question of underestimating the workers' readiness to participate in general political activity, Lenin has an imaginary worker address those leaders who tend too much to restrict activity to the economic field. (p. 153.)

The "economic struggle between the workers and the employers and the government," about which you make as much fuss as if you had made a new discovery, is being carried on in all parts of Russia, even the most remote, by the workers themselves who have heard about strikes, but who have heard almost nothing about Socialism. The "activity" you want to stimulate among us workers by advancing concrete demands promising palpable results, we are already displaying and in our every-day, petty trade-union work, we put forward concrete demands, very often without any assistance from the intellectuals whatever. But *such* activity is not enough for us; we are not children to be fed on the sops of "economic" politics alone; we want to know everything that everybody else knows, we want to learn the details of *all* aspects of political life and to take part *actively* in every political event. In order that we may do this, the intellectuals must talk to us less on what we already know, and tell us more about what we do not know and what we can never learn from our factory and "economic" experience, that is, you must give us political knowledge. You intellectuals can acquire this knowledge, and it is your *duty* to bring us that knowledge in a hundred and a thousand times greater measure than you have done up till now; and you must bring us this knowledge not only in the form of arguments, pamphlets and articles which sometimes—excuse my frankness!—are very dull, but in the form of live *exposures* of what our government and our governing classes are doing at this very moment in all spheres of life. Fulfill this duty with greater zeal, and *talk less about "increasing the activity of the masses of the workers!"* We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support by open street fighting demands that do not even promise any "palpable results" whatever! You cannot "increase" our activity, because *you yourselves are not sufficiently active.* Be less subservient to spontaneity, and think more about increasing *your own* activity, gentlemen!

* * * *

Lenin shows in the following, how the economic conception of "giving the economic struggle itself a political character," plays

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directly into the hands of the bourgeoisie, by narrowing working class politics down to mere trade union politics.

Surely, it is not sufficient to call ourselves the "vanguard," it is necessary to act like one; we must act in such a way that all the other units of the army shall see us, and be obliged to admit that we are the vanguard. And we ask the reader: Are the representatives of the other "units" such fools as to take merely our word for it when we say that we are the "vanguard"?

Just picture to yourselves the following: A Social-Democrat comes into the "unit" of Russian educated radicals, or liberal constitutionalists, and declares to them: We are the vanguard; "at the present time we are confronted by the problem of—how to give as far as possible to the economic struggle itself a political character." The radical, or constitutionalist, if he is at all intelligent (and there are many intelligent men among Russian radicals and constitutionalists), would only laugh at such a speech, and would say (to himself, of course, for in the majority of cases they are experienced diplomats):

> Well, your "vanguard" must be composed of simpletons! It does not even understand that it is our task of the progressive representatives of bourgeois democracy to give to the economic struggle of the workers a political character. Why, we too, like all the West-European bourgeoisie, are striving to draw the workers into politics, but *only into trade-union politics and not into Social Democratic politics.* Trade-union politics are precisely *bourgeois politics* of the working class and the "vanguard's" formulation of its tasks is the formula for trade-union politics. Let them call themselves Social-Democrats if they like. I am not a child to get excited over a label. But see that they do not fail under the influence of those pernicious orthodox doctrinaires, let them allow "freedom of criticism" to those who unconsciously are driving Social-Democracy into trade-unionist channels.

And the light chuckle of our constitutionalist will turn into Homeric laughter when he learns that the Social-Democrats who talk about Social-Demrocracy being the vanguard at the present time, when spontaneity completely dominates our movement, fears nothing so much as "belittling the spontaneous elements," as "belittling the significance of the forward march of the drab, every-day struggle, as compared with the propaganda of brilliant and finished ideas,"

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etc., etc.! A "vanguard," which fears that consciousness will outstrip spontaneity, which fears to put forward a bold "plan" that would compel universal recognition even among those who think differently from us—Are they not confusing the word "vanguard" with the word "rearguard"?

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Baltimore and Geneva, 1866 — A Parallel

Editorial Note by Alexander Trachtenberg

IN the literary heritage of Marx and Engels, their correspondence between themselves, which alone takes up four volumes, and their letters to such of their friends and co-workers as Bebel, Sorge, Adler, Becker, Bernstein, Nikolai—on, Sassulitch, Kugelman, etc., occupy a place of no mean importance. In fact some of their telling expressions on policies and tactics are to be found among the numerous letters which they left behind, most of which were luckily preserved. The Marx-Engels Institute will publish the entire correspondence in the 36 volume edition of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels, several volumes of which have already appeared in the German and Russian languages.

The collection of letters of Marx to his friend Dr. Kugelman is considered of great importance, as it contains among others, the famous letters dealing with the Paris Commune. Lenin edited a translation of these letters to Kugelman in Russian and wrote a special introduction to them in which he expressed the ideas later developed more fully in his *State and Revolution.*

Among these letters there is one of special interest to us in America. Marx wrote Kugelman, October 9, 1866:

> I have been delighted to hear of the Congress of the American workers held simultaneously in Baltimore. The watchword there was organization for the struggle with capital. It is a remarkable fact that the sound instinct of the American workers led them to formulate nearly all the demands which I was instrumental in placing on the agenda of the Geneva Congress.

"The Congress of the American workers" Marx wrote about, was a national convention of the representatives of American labor organizations held in Baltimore August 16-20, 1866, which resulted in the founding of the National Labor Union, the forerunner of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The "Geneva Congress" convened almost "simultaneously" with the Baltimore Convention was the first Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, better known as the First International, held September 3-8, 1866.

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Marx, who took an active part in the work of the Geneva Congress, was so impressed with the similarity of the questions dealt with at the two labor gatherings that he called special attention to it in *Capital*, (Vol. I, Ch. X).

There was no official connection between the two organizations at that time, yet, meeting within two weeks of each other, these representative labor movements, "spontaneous outgrowth of the condition of production," confronted with the same problems, dealt with them in like manner, even if the European organization, under Marx's leadership, dealt with them on a higher plane and more decisively.

The questions of the 8-hour day, strikes, trade unions, woman and child labor, producers' cooperatives were discussed both at Baltimore and Geneva. The resolutions on the 8-hour day adopted by both congresses and reprinted below, show particularly the similarity in the demands of the labor organizations on both sides of the Atlantic. Suffering under the strain of a long working day in the shops and mills of both Europe and America, the workers reached the same conclusion about the necessity of shortening the hours of labor and formulated the same demands.

Marx and Engels followed the events of the labor movement in the United States. They knew, of course, of the movement for the 8-hour day which was advanced as a propaganda slogan several years before the Baltimore Convention. Ira Steward of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union was particularly active in the agitation for the 8-hour day and had resolutions passed at gatherings of workers before the Civil War. He earned the sobriquet of the "8-hour monomaniac" among the opponents of the shorter work-day.

The question of the 8-hour day played an important role at the Baltimore Convention. A special report on it, made by A. C. Cameron, editor of the *Workingman's Advocate*, and representing the Chicago labor unions, went beyond merely the demand of the shorter work-day. It also proposed independent political action as a means of trying to secure it. "The history and legislation of the past," said Cameron, "has demonstrated that no confidence whatever can be placed on the pledges of the existing political parties so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned. The time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves aloof from party ties and predilections, and organize themselves into a National Party the object of which shall be to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours a legal day's work by the National Congress and the several State legislatures

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and the election of men pledged to sustain and represent the interests of the industrial classes." For a detailed account of the 8-hour day movement, see the writer's pamphlet *History of May Day*.)

The Baltimore convention, and the National Labor Union which it founded, was under the influence of the talented and militant William Sylvis, the leader of the Moulders' Union. Marx expected a great deal from Sylvis who was responsible for the establishment of definite relations between the N.L.U. and the First International and carried on a correspondence with the General Council in London. Sylvis would have gone to the Basle Congress of the International in September, 1869, but for his death two months before which closed a promising career of a devoted leader of the American working class.

When in 1869 the International appealed to the N.L.U. on the question of common action in case of war which was then threatening between England and the United States, Sylvis replied to the General Council: "Our cause is a common one. It is a war between poverty and wealth. The moneyed power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win it. If we can, we will win through the ballot box, if not, then we shall resort to sterner means. A little blood letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

The A. F. of L. which traces its lineage to the N.L.U. and William Green who probably considers himself a direct descendant of William Sylvis, shudder when they delve into the records of the national labor organization and its leader of three generations ago. To think that 65 years ago an American trade union convention, assembled in Baltimore, and a congress of the First International, convened at Geneva, Switzerland, adopted under the leadership of Marx, decisions which were identical in spirit, if not in letter, is enough to throw Green, Woll and the whole fascist leadership of the A. F. of L. into a cold sweat. To the militants of today, the actions of the Baltimore Convention are a proof of the militant traditions of the American Labor movement which the blackest record of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy cannot efface.

THE TWO RESOLUTIONS ON THE 8-HOUR DAY

THE BALTIMORE RESOLUTION:

Resolved, that the first and grand desideratum of the hour in order to deliver the labor of the country from the thralldom of capital, is the enactment of a law whereby eight hours shall be made to constitute a legal day's work in every State of the Ameri-

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can Union. We are firmly determined to use every power at our command for the achievement of this glorious aim.

THE GENEVA RESOLUTION:

The legal reduction of the hours of labor is a prerequisite without which all attempts to improve the condition of the workingclass and to ultimately emancipate it will fail. It is just as necessary to restore the health, physical strength and energy of the workingclass—the great majority of every nation—as it is to secure to it the possibility to develop intellectually and to act socially and politically. The convention, therefore, proposes that eight hours be made to constitute a legal day's work. The shortening of the work-day is now being generally demanded by the workingmen of America; we demand it for the workingmen of the entire world.

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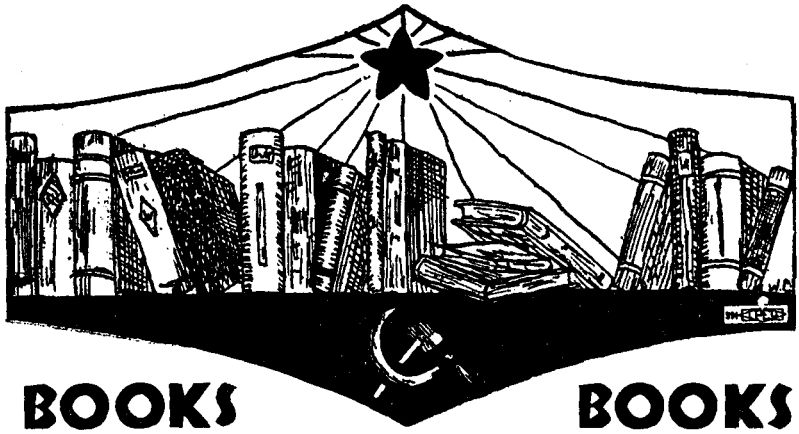

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF THE STATE. SHERMAN H. M. CHANG, Ph. Published by the author. $2.50.

Reviewed by R. DOONPING

The book under review reveals two striking features. On the one hand, it contains an essentially correct statement of the Marxian theory of the state, though in places, marred by ambiguities and wrong interpretations. On the other hand, despite the author's knowledge and understanding of Marxism, he betrays a retreating and wavering attitude, hiding behind the mask of academic disinterestedness, and dangerously exposing his petty-bourgeois leanings to the siren songs of fascist demagogy and the silver bullets of Chiang Kai-Shek.

However, the book does not show any deliberate attempt to distort Marxian theory. Barring the preface, part of the first chapter, and the last chapter which contain a hopelessly muddled estimate of Marxism, the book can be of much service as a valuable reference book to the class-conscious worker. In Chapter I, the contrasts between Marxism and Revisionism are too mechanically formulated, although the footnotes give us much useful and interesting information on the social-fascist theory of the state and democracy. The discussion on the philosophy of Marxism, in Chapter II, contains a rather valuable section on the distinction between historical materialism, Marx's monistic theory of history and "the economic interpretation of history," an eclectic and pluralistic theory much in vogue among American liberals and social-fascists.

The Marxian theory of the state is stated in the book in five chapters under the following five topics: "The Class-Domination Theory of the State"; "The Overthrow of the Bourgeois State by Revolution"—"The Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "The Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"; "The Withering Away of the Proletarian State." Most of the ambiguities are found in Chapter VI, on "The Theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." although the few diagrams in the chapter contrasting the proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois (dictatorship) are very helpful in clarifying the subject. On page 107, a very important phrase referring to the support of the peasantry is entirely cut out of a quotation from Lenin defining the dictatorship of the proletariat. An incomplete quotation such as this may lead to misunderstandings of great political importance.

The discussion of the distribution under proletarian dictatorship on pages 121-122 is very badly formulated and misleading. The author has not

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correctly understood Marx's discussion of the problem in his *Criticism of the Gotha Program* and hence has wrongly treated distribution under proletarian dictatorship as based upon principles "almost the same as under capitalism, *e. g.*, to each according to his work although in either case each does not receive the full product of his work." (p. 121.) In discussing surplus value, the author says that "in contrast to deductions made under capitalism in the form of rent, interest, and profits, deductions are here (under proletarian dictatorship) made in the form of contributions to a public reserve fund." (p. 121.) Such a formulation, without emphatically pointing out the basic difference of the two "deductions" and the class nature of the "public reserve fund" can only lead to a gross misunderstanding of the whole proposition. In discussing the world proletarian state, the author's petty-bourgeois hesitancy prevents him from having a firm grasp of the theory and he makes the following loose statement, "these proletarian States will probably enter the general system of the world proletarian dictatorship," (p. 123)—not surely, but only probably!

After a statement of the theory of the state, the "application in Soviet Russia" is discussed in a separate long chapter. In the concluding paragraph of this chapter, the author demonstrated his lack of a sufficiently clear understanding of dialectics by the statement that "in Soviet Russia, Marxism has been fairly complied with—complied with as far as actual conditions permit." (p. 180.)

An application of a theory to actual conditions is neither "fitting" theory to conditions nor forcing conditions into the compass of a theory. Dialectically, theory and its application cannot be separated. The application of theory to a new situation is not a thing separate from, but is part of the theory itself.

It is highly interesting and significant that the author's preface, as well as the last chapter on an estimate of Marxism, present a distinct contrast to the main body of the book. It is evident that, while willing to make an attempt to present the Marxian theory of the state conscientiously, the author is particularly careful not to identify himself with Marxism. He takes great pains to remind the reader repeatedly that he started the work "merely out of curiosity" (p. vii), and that "should any reader accuse me of identifying myself with these exponents, he would have misunderstood the nature of the work (p. vii). But is there such a thing as academic disinteredness except as a mask? All over the world and throughout history such masks are rapidly torn down in the heat of struggle. Particularly in China, the author's homeland, such a position is absolutely unthinkable. Prof. John R. Commons, in his introduction, emphasizes that Marxism is "not an academic question" to the author—"it was life and death"! The author also admits that "This volume is of practical importance to myself and to my Chinese readers" (p. viii).

After reading the book we are compelled to ask: Whither Dr. Chang? The question is not a personal one. It is a question addressed to a host of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who are at the cross-roads. The road to Communism is just as widely open to him as the road to fascism! But there is no third road! In the case of Dr. Chang, he has already dangerously exposed himself to fascism by such muddled statements as "the successful Nationalist Revolution of 1927" (p. viii) and "we are compelled to believe that for better or *for worse*, the possibilities for the revolutionary program of Marx are still open" (p. 190). Whether this book will eventually turn out to be a Juda's kiss or a disciple's preliminary contribution to Marxism, time alone can tell.

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LABOR AND TEXTILES, by ROBERT W. DUNN and JACK HARDY; "Labor and Industry" $1.00 series. Issued by International Publishers.

Reviewed by CLARA HOLDEN

The book has a wealth of information on the cotton and woolen industries in the United States. Roughly, the 12 chapters are divided into four parts. In an extremely clear and concise fashion, it shows first the contradictions of capitalism as applied to the textile industry—the anarchy of the present "system," overproduction, underconsumption, the scramble for foreign markets, the continued lowering of wages, the mergers, and the profits for the investors. It points out how the tariff laws, always ballyhooed to "protect labor," have never benefited the workers in any way.

Another part of the book deals with conditions of the mill workers, their wages, hours, how they are speeded up and stretched out, the extent of unemployment, and occupational diseases. The number of women workers, young workers, Negro workers, and foreign-born is given, and facts relating to their work in the mills.

A third part of the book takes up the employers' organizations and their tactics in fighting unions and strikes, in cutting wages, and in further enslaving the workers through "welfare" schemes, company unions, mill villages, churches and schools.

The fourth section has some interesting chapters dealing with the history of the various unions, and a history of the most important strikes that have taken place in the industry. It tells the story of the craft unions, such as the National Mule Spinners' Ass'n, which started back in 1858. It tells how textile workers fought in the International Labor Union formed in 1878, in the Knights of Labor, and in the National Union of Textile Workers, which later merged with other unions to form the United Textile Workers of America. Quite a history of the U.T.W. is given, especially of its early efforts in the South, and the role of the I. W. W. is briefly sketched. Another chapter deals with the independent unions, such as the National Federation of Textile Operatives, the Amalgamated Textile Workers, the Federated Textile Unions of America, and finally the formation and growth of the National Textile Workers Union, "the only union in the industry that has the correct policy for organizing the workers."

In spite of the fact that the book is crammed full of statistics, it is not a "heavy" book. It is most simply and engrossingly written—one of those about which the advertising boys say, "You just can't put it down till you have finished it."

All kinds of interesting facts are brought out. For example, that plants making textiles and textile products, employ over one-eighth of all the workers engaged in manufacturing. These 1,100,000 mill workers make up a working force greater than that of any other manufacturing industry. Some 44 per cent of the workers are women. There are more boys and girls between 10 and 15 years of age, and more young workers between the ages of 16 and 21 in the textile industry than in any other industry. Wages of mill workers are lower than in any other industry except tobacco. In 1927, wages of cotton mill workers were 37 per cent lower than the average earnings for workers in all manufacturing industries. From 1920 to 1930, wages in woolen mills dropped 24 per cent, and in cotton mills over 30 per cent. Wages in the South are about 30 per cent lower than in New England, workers of South Carolina being the worst paid, with average actual weekly earnings of $9.56 in 1928. They have gone down a lot since then as a result of direct cuts, stretch-out, unemployment and part-time work. In 1928, South Carolina mill workers got

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41 per cent less than in 1920. Tuberculosis is more prevalent among mill workers than among other workers, as careful studies by insurance companies and the Workers' Health Bureau have shown. Some 20,000 cases of the poverty disease, pellagra, is the estimate for North Carolina mill towns.

Although "King Cotton" is supposed to be sick, and mill owners talk of losing money, the book points out that in many instances tremendous profits have been, and are still being, made. The Pepperel Mfg. Co., for example, has never missed its usual dividends of 8 per cent or more. At the same time that the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills cut wages 10 per cent in 1930 they reported regular payments of 6 per cent on preferred and 10 per cent on common stock. Some 20 per cent of the Southern mills have not missed a single regular dividend payment since the war days when stocks were heavily watered and scores of stock dividends declared.

Unemployment has hit the textile industry hard, at least 100,000 being out of work in New England alone. At least 10 per cent of the looms in Massachusetts and Rhode Island are permanently idle. Many northern mills have liquidated, 31 in Fall River alone, while dozens have moved South to exploit the "cheap and docile labor" advertised by the Southern chambers of commerce.

The role of William Green, of the A. F. of L., and of President T. F. McMahon, of the U.T.W., is clearly shown, as they have gone from one chamber of commerce to another, preaching "peace and helpfulness," and "business methods." Mr. McMahon is quoted as saying: "We aren't talking higher wages. We aren't talking shorter hours. . . . We want to sit down with the mill owners, we want to take up their problems as our problems. . . ." And Mr. Green says, "Either we will speak for the Southern workers or the Communists will assume that function."

No specific mention is made in the book of the treacherous role of the Musteites and the Socialist Party. Their menace to the working class and the need to relentlessly fight it is not brought out. This is the major shortcoming of the book. Also, it would have been preferable to have the part dealing with working conditions come before the economic analysis of the industry.

The book is certainly one that every Communist should read. It is a clear, concise and most informative piece of work. No N.T.W.U. organizer can afford to be without a copy of it. And it should be in the hands of every mill worker. A Danville woman striker after reading it said: "I have just finished *Labor and Textiles*. Why, it has everything in it that we workers want to know."

LABOR FACT BOOK. Labor Research Association. International Publishers. 1931. 224 pages. Paper edition 85 cents.

LABOR FACT BOOK

Reviewed by BERT GRANT

A ready handbook of facts for workers in the class struggle here in the United States has long been needed. Such a volume is now provided in the *Labor Fact Book*. It gives the busy worker or organizer just the material he needs for his own information and for use in speeches, articles and discussions on a wide variety of subjects.

In a section on the Danger of War Against the Soviet Union, for example, the *Labor Fact Book* summarizes the recent intervention plots with the dates, names, and other facts, showing concretely with exact evidence

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the preparations for war against the workers' republic. It points out the latest revelations of the U. S. War Policies Commission and the boast of War Department generals that some 17,000 factories have already received "educational" war orders, for the manufacture of military materials, while they claim that 4,000,000 men can be speedily mobilized, fed, and munitioned in the coming war.

That war is merely a virulent outbreak of the perpetual conflicts inherent in the economic system in the era of imperialism, as Lenin stated, is proved in a chapter on Present Day Imperialism in which the specific conflicts between capitalist nations are analyzed. Territorial division of the world among the great capitalist powers, foreign investments of American capital, with tables showing how finance capitalists dominate Latin America and the colonies, the British-American conflict over oil, copper, tin, rubber, nitrates and other war materials—in other words the stage settings for another great imperialist war are described in detail. Such a compilation, bringing together the data from many sources, saves the busy worker hours and hours of time.

"The American capitalist class has been able to reach its present dominating position in world economy because it owns one of the richest and most diverse areas in the world and exploits the labor of a large population. . . . the United States is more independent in relation to raw materials than any other industrial area except the Soviet Union. But this independence is only relative. Continental United States is not and could not be a self-sufficient economic unit." What these raw materials are, what use capitalist government makes of them, and what raw materials are lacking in the United States are shown in the first chapter on the Material Background of the United States.

In the chapter on the Soviet Union, there are excellent summaries of the Five-Year Plan, foreign trade of the U.S.S.R., labor unions and working conditions in the workers' republic. Exact data on the Soviet system of social insurance and the cultural and social benefits available to all workers make this chapter an invaluable reference source to all who want to know the contrast between conditions under capitalism and conditions under a true workers' government.

Hundreds of questions about working conditions in the United States are answered in the book, practically every subject of interest to the worker engaged in present struggles being covered, from wages and hours, number and types of workers, speed-up, productivity, unemployment, housing and the special discriminations against Negroes and the foreign-born. Workers fighting for social insurance will find especially valuable facts in the section dealing with the present labor laws, their limitations and the sort of "enforcement" that is possible under the capitalist state.

In the part dealing with the present set-up of finance capitalism in this country the authors have done an especially good job and have drawn together in most comprehensive and useable form all the pertinent data on the distribution of wealth and the income groups in the United States. The facts here show clearly the increasing concentration of wealth. Other meaty sections in this chapter deal with the wide financial empire of the House of Morgan and the interlocking directorships, linking the big banks with the great industries of the United States. The economic crisis is briefly analyzed and the inner weaknesses of American capitalism are clearly stated.

The chapter on the Employers' Offensive presents in summary form, with effective illustrations and examples, all the various methods used by employers to fight labor, from the very latest scheme of "welfare" to the

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ruthless use of deputy sheriffs, state police and federal troops, as illustrated today in the struggles waged on the Pittsburgh and Pawtucket fronts. Special attention is given to the Federal methods of strike-breaking through the Immigration Service and the innocent-sounding Conciliation Service of the U. S. Department of Labor. Lynchings, mob violence and other forms of capitalist terror are discussed at length, and a list of historic frame-ups of labor martyrs is included—from Haymarket to Mooney and Billings and Sacco and Vanzetti.

The struggles of the workers and the organizations which either lead or betray them are covered in a special chapter which sums up A. F. of L. policy toward the Soviet Union, social insurance and Negroes, and ends with a precise statement of the program and policies of the Trade Union Unity League and its constituent organizations. The intimate relations of the A. F. of L. with the War Department in its preparations for the coming imperialist war is brought out by startling quotes from the speeches of Matthew Woll and William Green. This section contains also a revealing table showing the large salaries of A. F. of L. union executives.

The trends toward fascism in the United States and the differentiations between various capitalist political groupings is shown in the chapter which discusses political parties. Special sections are devoted to the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party. The last chapter, summing up the main characteristics of the various internationals, is also a clear-cut statement exposing the pro-capitalist policies of the "Socialists" on a world scale and their part in preparing the ground for another war and armed attack on the Soviet Union.

The foreword of the book states correctly that "so small a book could not possibly be complete and many will be disappointed by the absence of material they hope to find. Opinions will differ as to what facts should have been included and how they should be presented. But the Labor Research Association staff, in spite of its admissions of shortcomings, has clearly done a much-needed job. For they have put together in brief, simple form a mass of material which the average worker can read and understand. The book will be a precious manual for the practical worker and speaker. It will save busy workers much time and trouble when preparing articles, outlines and speeches. It will be used as an indispensable handbook by workers in all sections of the labor movement. Like all the other volumes prepared by the Labor Research Association, the book is printed in large type and carries an extensive index as well as several pages of Reference Sources to help the student and worker in his search for material.

This is, indeed, one book that no reader of the *Communist* can afford not to own. And the popular price of the paper edition makes this possible.

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